Public Drinking *and* Public Policy

PROCEEDINGS OF A SYMPOSIUM ON OBSERVATION STUDIES HELD AT BANFF, ALBERTA, CANADA, APRIL 26–28, 1984

ERIC SINGLE
THOMAS STORM
Editors

Addiction
Research
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The symposium on "Public Drinking and Public Policy" was a very timely event. It occurred at a time of increased interest in observational research in natural settings on the part of alcohol researchers. It was also an opportune time for the involvement of policy makers. In part due to their own concern for providing a factual basis for their decisions and in part due to increased public concern over drunk driving and public order issues, liquor licensing officials were more than willing to participate in a symposium designed to inform them of research findings and provide a forum for them to make researchers aware of their information needs.

Nevertheless, the success of the symposium was not due solely to its timeliness. The conceptualization, planning, funding and carrying out of a symposium and editing its proceedings requires the assistance and support of a large number of persons, only a few of whom can be mentioned below.

First, the symposium would not have been possible without the support of the four sponsoring organizations -- the Addiction Research Foundation of Ontario (ARF), the Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission (AADAC), the Alberta Liquor Control Board (ALCB) and the Health Promotion Directorate of Health and Welfare Canada. Deserving of particular mention at ARF are Joan Marshman, Bob Popham and Wolfgang Schmidt for supporting the project from the beginning, and Ron Hall and Ann MacLennan for their management of the publication arrangements. Jan Skirrow, Director of AADAC, gave generously of his time and that of his staff, including David Hewitt, Ed Sawka and Butch Nutter. Jan also provided a liaison to the Alberta Liquor Control Board. David Watkins, Director of the ALCB and Mary-Kay Brook, Legal Counsel, deserve special thanks for their assistance in engaging the participants of other provincial licensing authorities, not to mention the generous assistance of the ALCB in funding the meetings. We would also like to thank Ron Draper of the Health Promotion Directorate for his support, as well as Irv Rootman, Pete Conley and Neville Lane for their participation in the planning meetings and the symposium itself.

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Two persons deserve special recognition, for without them the symposium would not have taken place -- Carolyn Nutter and Bill Ratcliffe. The original idea for such a meeting was Bill's and he provided the bridge between ARF in Ontario and AADAC in Alberta. Carolyn made all of the local arrangements for the symposium. Both Bill and Carolyn gave generously of their time and creativity in the planning committee and at the symposium, where they also served as chairpersons of sessions. Any credit for the success of the symposium belongs at least as much to them as with anyone.

Last but not least, we would like to thank the participants themselves. Coming great distances from throughout Canada and from places as remote as New Zealand and Finland, they gave generously of their time and creativity. The quality of the work presented in this volume made our work as organizers of the symposium worthwhile and our work as editors of these proceedings easy.

Eric Single
Toronto, February, 1985

Tom Storm
Antigonish, February, 1985

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Thomas F. Babor, Department of Psychiatry, University of Connecticut School of Medicine, Farmington, Connecticut, U.S.A.

Willis L. Blair, Chairman, Liquor Licence Board of Ontario.

Barbara Boake, Faculty of Law, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

Jane Bradbury, Research Fellow, Institute of Criminology, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.

Mary-Kay Brook, Legal Counsel, Alberta Liquor Control Board.

Ron Clark, Director of Liquor Licensing, Saskatchewan Liquor Board.

Walter B. Clark, Alcohol Research Group, Institute of Epidemiology, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.

Peter Conley, Health Promotion Directorate, Health and Welfare Canada.

Ronald L. Cosper, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Judith A. Curran, Legal Counsel, Nova Scotia Liquor License Board.

R.E. Cutler, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Reg Eamer, Director, Manitoba Liquor Control Commission.

Honey Fisher, Addiction Research Foundation of Ontario.

Mary Lynn Gleason, Faculty of Law, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

Kathryn Graham, Community Programs Evaluation Centre, Addiction Research Foundation, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

Stephen A. Grannum, Counsel, Liquor Licence Board of Ontario.

Irene Hamilton, Corporate Secretary, Manitoba Liquor Control Commission.

Thomas C. Harford, National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, Rockville, Maryland, U.S.A.

Eugene Healey, Director of Inspection Services, Newfoundland Liquor Licensing Board.

Margaret A.M. Kelly, Administrator, Nova Scotia Liquor License Board.

Marc Kessler, Professor of Psychology, University of Vermont.

Merja Kinnunen, Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, Helsinki, and the University of Tampere, Finland.

Joyce M. Kramer, Associate Professor (Sociology), College of Education and School of Medicine, University of Minnesota, Duluth, Minnesota, U.S.A.

Ghislain K.-Laflamme, President and Director General, Régie Des Permis D'Alcool Du Québec.

Joan Marshman, President, Addiction Research Foundation of Ontario.

Catherine A. M. Milligan, Solicitor, Saskatchewan Liquor Board.

James F. Mosher, Prevention Research Group (PRG), Medical Research Institute of San Francisco (MRI); Prevention Research Center (PRC), Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation (PIRE), San Francisco, California, U.S.A.

Ritva Nätkin, Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, Helsinki, Finland.

Butch Nutter, Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission.

Carolyn Nutter, Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission.

Martin A. Plant, Senior Research Fellow, Alcohol Research Group, Department of Psychiatry, University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

William Ratcliffe, Senior Consultant, The Longwoods Research Group Ltd., Toronto, Ontario.

Irv Rootman, Health Promotion Directorate, Health and Welfare Canada.

Edward Sawka, Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission.

James M. Schaefer, Director, Office of Alcohol and Other Drug Abuse Programming, University of Minnesota, Duluth, Minnesota, U.S.A.

Eric W. Single, Scientist, Department of Epidemiology and Social Policy, Social and Biological Studies Division, Addiction Research Foundation, Toronto, and Professor of Sociology, University of Toronto, Ontario.

Jan Skirrow, Director, Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission.

Michael A. Smith, Reader in Business Policy, Bristol Polytechnic, Bristol, England. England.

Robert Solomon, Faculty of Law, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

Thomas Storm, Department of Psychology, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

Pekka Sulkunen, Social Research Institute of Alcohol Studies, Helsinki, Finland.

Anthony E. Thomas, Research Associate (Medical Anthropology), Health Services Research Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, U.S.A.

David Watkins, Director, Alberta Liquor Control Board.

FOREWORD

H. David Archibald

President, International Council on Alcoholism and the Addictions

The symposium described in this book may prove to be a landmark event in the alcohol field. The symposium represents a rare instance in which researchers and policy-makers came together to assess the state of knowledge on a particular subject and discuss issues of mutual concern. In a field in which public health interests are frequently opposed to an economically and politically powerful industry, policy-makers have been understandably reluctant to engage in such a dialogue. By focussing on the impact of the drinking environment rather than controls over aggregate levels of consumption, the symposium found an area of alcohol policy where cooperation between public health interests, the alcohol industry and those responsible for alcohol policy, may be both possible and effective.

Until the recent past, those responsible for developing and carrying out alcohol policy engaged in very little dialogue with the research community. This was in large measure due to the predominance of the "disease" concept of alcoholism. As long as alcohol problems were associated with those few individuals who developed this disease, the proper response on the part of policy-makers appeared to be to relax restrictions on the majority of drinkers who do not appear to incur major health problems and provide medical treatment for those who do.

Over the past decade, however, there has been renewed interest in research on the impact of alcohol control measures aimed at the prevention of alcohol problems in the general population. In 1975 the 28th World Health Assembly passed a resolution (Resolution WHA 28.81) which focussed on the relationship between levels of alcohol consumption in societies and indices of alcohol-related health damage. In 1979, the 32nd World Health Assembly proclaimed alcohol to be one of the world's major public health problems and urged member states to take action to reduce alcohol consumption (Resolution WHA 32.40).

The increased attention being given to alcohol control measures over the past decade stems from a number of factors. Perhaps most importantly, throughout most of the world there was a sharp increase in alcohol-related health and social problems which accompanied the general rise in levels of alcohol consumption through the 1960s and early 1970s. At the same time, enthusiasm for the disease concept of alcoholism has waned in light of epidemiological evidence which indicates that levels of consumption associated

with moderate or "social" drinking carry distinct risks and contribute substantially to levels of damage. Finally, it should also be noted that the limited success and high cost of alcoholism treatment has also provided additional momentum to the search for preventive mechanisms.

Initially much of the policy debate in the alcohol field tended to focus on issues such as pricing and availability as they affect levels of aggregate consumption. Thus, public health considerations have often been placed in an adversarial position vis-a-vis economic consideration. The choice to policy-makers appeared to be whether to favour unpopular measures designed to protect the long-term health interests of the public at large versus popular measures relaxing alcohol controls which favour the short-term economic interests of the alcohol and hospitality industries.

Rather than focussing on the impact of control measures on overall alcohol consumption, this volume places attention on the situational determinants of drinking behaviour and drinking problems in public settings. The ultimate aim of the research reported in this book is to develop programmes to manipulate the drinking environment in order to influence drinking and public drunkenness. In this area of alcohol policy, there is much greater lattitude for cooperation between public health interests, those who distribute alcohol and those who establish public policy. For example, both public health agencies and hospitality industry are developing server intervention programmes designed to prevent problems arising from patron intoxication. It is therefore understandable that research on public drinking has recently captured the attention and deepening interest of licensing officials and other policy-makers. This represents a significant advance in the alcohol field.

Research can and should play an important role in the development of alcohol policy. Research provides basic facts about the extent of alcohol consumption and the magnitude of various alcohol problems. Research provides answers to questions of relevance to policy, such as what the effect is of different quantities of alcohol on various organs of the body or to general ability to function or operate a motor vehicle. Research also provides vital information about the culture of drinking and public attitudes towards drinking, drunkenness and proper behaviour when drinking.

Thus, policy-makers in the alcohol field can be better informed by research. However, communication between policy-makers and researchers is a two-way street. Research can be vastly improved and made more relevant to policy if the information needs of policy-makers are taken into account in the choice and design of research.

Many North Americans seem to feel that it is a waste of time to study alcohol problems in different cultures. This is a short-sighted approach because we have much to learn from the experience of other cultures in dealing with alcohol problems. Without such research, we cannot tell with absolute certainty whether or not a given policy option is good or bad. It is generally only when a policy has actually been put into place that its full impact becomes clear. Even then, the impact of a policy change may only become evident if it is a major change such as a substantial increase in price, as occurred in Poland in 1981, or the introduction of beer sales in grocery stores, as happened in Finland in 1968. Thus, comparative international research tends to be particularly relevant to

policy. It should be noted in this regard that, although the presentations in this book focus on Canada and the U.S., they also include analyses of public drinking in the U.K., Finland and New Zealand.

In sum, both the researcher and the policy-maker have much to gain by maintaining open lines of communication. It is hoped that the symposium presented in this volume will prove to be a precursor to many future events at which there is a meaningful dialogue between researchers and policy-makers, so that a mutual understanding and appreciation of each other's role may develop.

PUBLIC DRINKING AND PUBLIC POLICY: INTRODUCTION

This book presents the proceedings of a symposium held in Banff, Alberta, in April of 1984 on "Public Drinking and Public Policy". The symposium brought together researchers engaged in observational studies of tavern behaviour and representatives of provincial liquor licensing boards responsible for regulating such behaviour. The purpose was to inform the licensing officials of the findings and policy implications of research on public drinking behaviour, and to make the research community aware of the information needs of policy makers. The symposium was co-sponsored by the Addiction Research Foundation of Ontario, the Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission, the Alberta Liquor Control Board and the Health Promotion Directorate of Health and Welfare Canada.

Relatively little attention has been given to situational determinants of drinking behaviour and drinking problems. The alcohol policy debate in Canada, the United States and elsewhere has focussed largely on the use of control measures such as pricing and availability as potential mechanisms for the prevention of alcohol-related problems (Bruun et al., 1975; Mäkelä et al., 1981). Much of prevention programming in Canada and elsewhere has emphasized attempts to influence individuals through education and/or media campaigns. A relatively neglected strategy, on the other hand, has been environmental design. The manipulation of drinking environments in order to influence the rate at which people consume alcoholic beverages and the likelihood that they will experience a social or health problem as a result of their alcohol consumption, would appear to be a promising strategy for reducing the incidence of alcohol-related problems.

Observational studies of the situational determinants of drinking behaviour in natural settings, such as bars, taverns, private clubs and private parties, would seem to be particularly relevant to the development of measures aimed at structuring the drinking environment to prevent alcohol problems. Nevertheless, scant attention has been given to the direct observation of drinking. The tavern was referred to in the early 1960s as a "neglected topic of sociological importance" (de Lint and Popham, 1963). Although a number of observational studies have been conducted on drinking since that time, the tavern literature is still relatively small (for reviews see Clark, 1981; Single, 1985). It consists mainly of small, local studies based on unobtrusive observation. Researchers are frequently unaware of similar work being conducted elsewhere and the implications of these studies are rarely brought to the attention of licensing officials or other policy makers.

Given this situation, a small group of alcohol researchers met in Toronto in September of 1982 to plan a symposium on observational studies of tavern drinking. It was decided that the meetings would focus on three topics: 1) an assessment of our knowledge about drinking in bars and taverns, 2) policy implications and issues, and 3) methodological problems in conducting observational studies.

In accordance with these plans, the first day of the symposium involved a series of presentations summarizing the substantive findings in three areas: the correlates and consequences of drinking in bars and taverns, cross-cultural variations in public drinking, and the integration of observation with other methods of studying drinking and drinking problems.

The first session began with an overview of studies on public drinking behaviour by Eric Single, which concluded that the tavern literature is relatively sparse and largely atheoretical. Tom Storm and Ron Cutler then outlined "The Functions of the Tavern". Walter Clark summarized research on the correlates of tavern patronage and presented a "social ecology of drinking settings". Clark's analysis is an invaluable aid in placing the findings of observational studies into proper perspective with regard to overall alcohol consumption. Kathryn Graham then summarized research on the determinants of heavy drinking and aggression in the bar environment and presented a new analysis of her own data identifying situational factors which are controllable and associated with drinking problems. Jim Schaefer concluded the session with an assessment of "The Physical Setting as it Relates to Drinking Behaviour".

Almost all of the research reviewed in the opening session is based on studies conducted in Canada or the United States. To provide a comparative perspective, the second session was devoted to conditions of public drinking in different settings. Martin Plant presented an analysis of problems associated with public drinking in Great Britain, with particular attention placed on the inordinately high rates of problems in Scotland. Michael Smith presented a summary of his voluminous and previously unpublished research on "The Public House in England". Jane Bradbury described the problems inherent in the regulation of taverns in New Zealand, which despite its small size and antipodean location is one of the few places where public drinking behaviour has been relatively well studied. Finally, two presentations are included concerning drinking patterns and the function of drinking in suburban pubs in Finland. The first paper is by Pekka Sulkunen and gives a male viewpoint. In a somewhat provocative vein, Sulkunen concludes that it is not the existence of the masculine domain in the pub which is the basic cause of female dissatisfaction with drinking culture. Rather it is "non-existence of female communities in the home territory" which is the basic problem. Ritva Nätkin, on the other hand, offers a feminist perspective in her analysis of how the pub culture is part and parcel of larger cultural institutions which control women and ensure "that women fulfill their reproductive duties within the family and society at large".

The third and final session of the first day of the symposium concerned alternative methods which complement observational data. In the first paper of this session, Tom Babor focussed on experimental studies of drinking behaviour, but he also reviewed other types of research dealing with sociological and economic correlates of excessive drinking and alcohol problems. Babor concludes with a review of the relative merits of correlational, observational and

experimental approaches to the study of public drinking behaviour. Tom Harford reviewed surveys of public drinking and presented a conceptual paradigm of environmental and individual factors which determine drinking behaviour. Ron Cosper then argued convincingly for the utility of time budget analysis to the study of public drinking, and Anthony Thomas and Joyce Kramer presented a discussion of "Anthropological Approaches to Public Drinking". It was apparent from the discussions following these presentations that every method has its advantages and disadvantages and the best research designs combine a variety of techniques.

On the second day, the focus of the symposium shifted to policy issues, with a series of panel discussions. The first concerned the legal liabilities of licensed establishments and began with presentations on the current situation in Canada by Robert Solomon and in the United States by James Mosher. The formal presentations were followed by a lively discussion with policy makers concerning a wide range of issues, including the legal liabilities of the regulatory agencies themselves and the development of server intervention programmes.

The second panel discussion concerned the policies, practices and information needs of liquor control boards. This panel was chaired by Jan Skirrow, Director of the Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission, and was in many ways the highlight of the symposium. It consisted of presentations from representatives of eight provincial licensing boards on the licensing procedures and restrictions in their jurisdictions, enforcement practices, the rationale behind drinking regulations and enforcement, policy development, and the information needs which they would like researchers to address. A very stimulating and lively dialogue ensued, thus fulfilling one of the major purposes of the symposium. The third and final panel discussion, chaired by Irv Rootman, concerned the linkage between policy and research. In this session, the participants broke up into four groups to discuss possible ways of better integrating research and policy making, and then each of the groups reported back to the whole symposium.

The third day of the symposium consisted of workshops on methodological issues and problems involved in conducting observational studies. Marc Kessler introduced the topic and discussed sampling issues and some of his experiences in developing typologies of drinking locales. Carolyn Nutter chaired a discussion of the problem of access and ethics. Bill Ratcliffe led a discussion of the problems of measurement in observational studies. The discussions were very informal, with the participating researchers sharing with each other their frequently difficult and occasionally humorous experiences in dealing with these methodological problems.

The symposium concluded on a very positive note. Many of the policy makers expressed their appreciation for the information which they had received over the three days and which they perceived to be very relevant to their policy deliberations. By the same token, many of the researchers expressed appreciation for the openness and candor of the policy makers and for the valuable information which they provided concerning the issues which they would like to see addressed by research.

Thus, the major objectives of the symposium were achieved. However, there was yet another purpose to the meeting, which was to stimulate further research on drinking in natural settings. It is largely to this end that the following proceedings have been edited and prepared.

STUDIES OF PUBLIC DRINKING: AN OVERVIEW

Eric Single*

Epidemiological research on alcohol use has relied heavily on aggregate sales or tax data, or alternatively, on self-reported data regarding alcohol consumption. However, there is a growing concern over the methodological problems involved in using these types of data (see, e.g., Single and Giesbrecht, 1979; Popham and Schmidt, 1981). At the same time, relatively little attention has been given to the direct observation of drinking, despite the fact that a considerable proportion of total alcohol consumption occurs in public and is readily observable.

In 1952, Macrory justified one of the pioneering tavern studies by referring to "the obvious importance of this institution..., as well as its nearly total neglect as an object of systematic study" (1952: 610). Even in the early 1960s the tavern was still referred to by G. H. Jansen as a "neglected topic of sociological importance" (de Lint and Popham, 1963). Since that time, a number of observation studies on drinking have been conducted, commonly in connection with the observation of other behaviour. However, the literature on bars and taverns is relatively small and very diverse (Clark, 1981). It consists mainly of narrowly focussed, local studies conducted by sociologists and psychologists who are frequently unaware of similar work being conducted elsewhere. Furthermore, the policy implications of this work are rarely brought to the attention of policy-makers.

The paucity of data on public drinking is particularly striking in view of the need for more complete research in two major areas of concern in the alcohol policy field -- the epidemiology of alcohol use and the determinants of heavy consumption.

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* Scientist, Department of Epidemiology and Social Policy, Social and Biological Studies Division, Addiction Research Foundation, Toronto. The assistance of J. Evans, H. Fisher, D. McKenzie and P. Walters is gratefully acknowledged. J. Blackwell and T. Storm also provided many helpful comments.

The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Addiction Research Foundation.

First, there is a need for a comprehensive description of the basic parameters of public drinking. As part of the WHO-affiliated International Study of Alcohol Control Experiences, a trend analysis was conducted on rates of alcohol consumption and patterns of drinking in Ontario over the past 30 years (Single and Giesbrecht, 1979). It was found that types of on-premise establishments became more diverse, as did beverage preferences. Drinking in taverns and clubs increased somewhat, but home consumption rose at an exceptionally high rate and accounted for almost all of the 60% increase in alcohol consumption over the study period. Sales data such as these are enlightening but they hardly begin to describe public drinking and drinking patterns. What is the nature of on-premise drinking establishments? Is it possible to develop a typology of drinking locales based on the characteristics of the clientele or the types of activities which occur in them? Who frequents taverns? What is the temporal rhythm of public drinking?

A second and more analytical focus for research on public drinking concerns situational determinants of heavy drinking and/or deleterious consequences of consumption such as impaired driving and alcohol-related aggression. There is ample evidence that drinking in public establishments accounts for a disproportionate share of heavy drinking. Thus, for example, Popham (1983) found that clinical alcoholics dissociated themselves from their social network and frequented taverns more often as their drinking became increasingly heavy. Similarly, Clark (1981) has found that the higher one's level of alcohol consumption, the more frequently one patronizes taverns and bars. Apart from its implications for policies aimed at the prevention of alcohol problems, observation studies are relevant to important theoretical issues. One of the major perspectives on the prevention of alcohol problems, often cited as the public health perspective, holds that controlling mean consumption will prevent further increases in alcohol-related health and social problems (see Bruun et al., 1975). It is the official position of the Addiction Research Foundation (ARF, 1978) as well as a number of national (e.g., Moore and Gerstein, 1981) and international health organizations (e.g., WHO, 1980). This viewpoint rests on the well-established connection between mean levels of consumption and indices of alcohol-related problems.

A key intervening variable in this relationship is the prevalence of heavy drinkers, who may be influenced by the consumption of more moderate drinkers. Bruun and his colleagues (1975) postulated a diffusion process through social networks as the basic underlying mechanism, whereby an increase in drinking by one individual tends to influence others to also increase their consumption of alcohol.

In addition to influencing heavy consumption, social drinking in taverns can have a direct impact on the incidence of alcohol-related problems. Even though heavy consumers have a greater likelihood of incurring alcohol-related health and social problems, there is no threshold at which one suddenly acquires a risk of alcohol problems. For example, even moderate drinking can increase the probability of being involved in a traffic accident. The work of Péquignot and his colleagues (1974) indicates that even a relatively moderate level of alcohol consumption (between 60 and 80 grams of ethanol per day) carries twice the risk of death from cirrhosis as the next lowest level of consumption (between 40 and 60 grams).

Thus, even when done in moderation, drinking in taverns is relevant to the development of alcohol-related health and social problems, not only because it can stimulate heavy drinking, but also because it carries certain risks in and of itself.

The purpose of this paper is to review the recent literature on public drinking behaviour. After considering the various methodological approaches which have been brought to bear on the study of public drinking, the major substantive findings will be discussed. Although every effort has been made to include all of the major studies in this area, there will undoubtedly be omissions. Indeed, one of the purposes of this symposium is to bring researchers in this area together in order to conduct a more thorough assessment of our knowledge concerning public drinking. Following this presentation, more detailed assessment of work-specific topics will be presented. It should be noted that in this paper the term "tavern" is used in a very general way to refer to any public place where the primary activity of patrons is drinking. Thus the term is meant to include pubs, lounges, beer halls and bars, but not necessarily restaurants or outdoor festivals.

Literature Review: Methodological Approaches

A brief review of the literature on public drinking serves to identify the substantive issues and findings, as well as methodological techniques and problems. Several different methods for studying drinking in natural or quasi-natural situations can be identified, including analyses of official records, legal research, media studies, analyses of diaries, community studies, small group studies, unobtrusive observation, participant observation, sample surveys, time budget analyses, medical assessments, experimental bars and natural experiments. These may be roughly grouped into four broad categories: historical and documentary approaches; qualitative or ethnographic techniques; quantitative methods, including surveys; and experimental approaches.

a) Historical Studies

Among these general approaches to the study of public drinking behaviour, perhaps the least utilized is the analysis of historical and documentary evidence. Popham's review of the historical literature on the function of the tavern (1978) and Harrison's discussion of the role of the Victorian pub (1971) are rare exceptions. Beginning with references to tavern keepers in the Code of Hammurabi in ancient Babylonia, Popham traces the role of the tavern from ancient times to the twentieth century, with particular attention to the political role of the tavern in spawning revolutionary movements.

Popham uses a variety of official records, including sales data, enforcement statistics and legal statistics. This approach is almost unique, the most notable exceptions being the use of criminal records to supplement a study of drinking in an after-hours club (Roebuck and Frese, 1976), and the legal analyses of Mosher (1982) in the U.S. and Solomon (1982) in Canada on the third party liability of tavern owners for damages incurred by victims of drunken patrons. There are a number of statistical sources which might provide useful data for tavern studies (see, e.g., Statistics Canada, 1982, for detailed data on expendi-

tures for alcoholic beverages in public places) but these have not been reported in the literature.

b) Qualitative Studies

The second major approach to the study of public drinking might be broadly termed the qualitative or ethnographic method. This approach is most closely identified with the fields of anthropology and with the community studies tradition in sociology. There are no community studies or anthropological studies which focus exclusively on alcohol use, but the classic work of MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969) on Drunken Comportment was based on a secondary analysis of anthropological studies of primitive societies. These authors argued that behaviour under the influence of alcohol is socially patterned and not simply a result of the pharmacological effects of ethanol. Other qualitative approaches which are rarely applied to the field of alcohol research include the analysis of diaries (Poikolainen and Kärkkäinen, 1983), studies of alcohol use in the media (see, e.g., Garlington, 1977) and small group participant observation (Ratcliffe and Caverhill, 1978; Popham, 1982).

The most common qualitative approach and indeed the major approach of the majority of tavern studies is unobtrusive observation of drinking and other behaviour. As noted earlier, observation studies were not common until the 1960s and those which were available tended to be heavily "problem oriented", i.e., concerned with the contribution of the tavern to drunkenness and its associated social problems rather than with the social role of the tavern. For a review of observational studies in taverns, see Clark, 1981. The following discussion will focus on Canadian studies.

The first systematic tavern study in Canada was conducted by Popham in Toronto in the early 1950s (Popham, 1962; 1976a; 1976b; 1978; 1982). A variety of methods were used to provide an ethnographic description of types of taverns and the relationship between tavern staff and patrons, with particular attention to the role of the tavern in the development of heavy drinking.

For the next twenty years there were only three observational studies of drinking, and one of these did not concern public drinking (Table 1). De Lint (1960a; 1960b) used observations of purchasing to supplement sales data in a brief examination into festival drinking. Sommer (1965; 1969) observed isolated drinking in 32 Edmonton beer parlours in a study which focussed on loneliness. Ossenberg (1969) conducted a systematic "pub-crawl" during the 1966 Calgary Stampede and found a class difference in aggressive and expressive behaviour. He concluded that community festivals such as the Stampede are "middle class binges" which are particularly functional for people who tend to be inhibited in their daily lives.

Since the early 1970s at least ten observational studies have been conducted on drinking behaviour in Canada. Listiak (1974) replicated Ossenberg's (1969) findings regarding festival drinking in an examination of drinking during the 1972 Grey Cup Week in Hamilton. Fish and his colleagues (1975) interviewed tavern patrons in Thunder Bay, Ontario to provide data on the contribution of public drinking to drunk driving incidents.

Perhaps the best known Canadian tavern study is the work of Cutler and Storm (1973; 1975) in Vancouver. These authors observed the characteristics of

drinkers and rates of drinking in eight beer parlours. Another major observation study was conducted in Edmonton by Ratcliffe and his colleagues (1978; 1979; 1980a; 1980b; 1980c; 1980d). This research, which is largely unpublished, focusses on environmental influences on drinking such as games, dancing and entertainment. Graham and her colleagues (1978) examined aggressive behaviour in 185 Vancouver drinking locales and found that drinking rate and situational variables such as layout and atmosphere of the tavern accounted for more than 90% of the variance in frequency of aggression. Other recent observational studies of note include a study of anxiety and other behaviour in ten Toronto singles bars (Fisher, 1980), and Israelstam and Lambert's (1982) ten-year study of the gay bar and its contribution to drinking problems among homosexuals.

c) Quantitative Approaches

A major drawback to observational studies is the inability of the researcher to generalize from samples which are very small or are chosen for reasons of convenience. A second major drawback to this approach is the inability of the researcher to obtain data on behaviour which cannot be readily observed, such as occupational status, family situation and life events. Both of these problems can be dealt with through the use of sample surveys. Valuable supplements to observation data are the use of general population surveys to describe the extent and correlates of tavern-going (see, e.g., Cahalan *et al.*, 1969; Harford *et al.*, 1976; Pernanen and Carsjo, 1980), and surveys of tavern patrons (see, e.g., Storm and Cutler, 1981).

Quantitative methods other than surveys have rarely been applied to the study of drinking behaviour. In a recent study of tavern patrons in Halifax, Elliott and Cosper (1982) convincingly argue that time-budget data can provide reliable detailed data on tavern-going. Other quantitative methods are less promising due to technical difficulties and ethical considerations. Thus, there is only one study which used a medical assessment of tavern patrons (Williams, 1978) and there are no studies involving videorecording of tavern behaviour. Despite the obvious advantages of such data, medical testing and videotaping would clearly require the informed consent of the research subjects and this would undoubtedly influence their behaviour in a manner which it is not possible to control.

d) Experimental Approaches

In addition to surveys, a further source of detailed information on tavern behaviour stems from the small but growing number of experimental barroom studies. One of the first such experiments was Kettil Bruun's *Drinking Behaviour in Small Groups* (1959). Bruun drew upon the small group theories of Bales and Homans to derive a set of hypotheses concerning the incidence of aggressiveness in drinking groups. In the 15 experimental groups, he found a substantial group effect. As expected, the consumption of alcohol led to freer expression of both positive emotions and aggressions. However, intra-group aggressions tended to decrease while out-group aggressions increased. Bruun also provided a description of the groups' drinking norms. The norms permitted a group member to drink more than the other members of the group, but a member was discouraged from drinking less than the others. Bruun's research remains one of the best examples of an empirical study well grounded in social scientific theory.

TABLE 1

OBSERVATIONAL STUDIES IN CANADA

Year	References	Site	Number and Type of Locale	Methods Used	Foci
1952-56	Popham, 1962; 1976a; 1976b; 1978; 1982	Toronto	145 taverns	observation, participant observation, informal interviewing, informants	types of taverns, reasons for choice of favourite taverns, development of alcoholism, role of tavern staff
1961	de Lint, 1961a; 1961b	Ontario	off-premise outlets	sales data, observation of purchases	trends in festivity use of various types of alcoholic beverages
1962-63	Sommer, 1965	Edmonton	32 beer parlors	observation	isolated drinkers, loneliness
1966	Ossenberg, 1969	Calgary	9 bars	observation	social class and drinking during a community festival (Stampede)
no date	Farley, n.d.	Calgary	beer parlors & cocktail lounges	observation	beer parlors as a form of social club
1972	Listiak, 1974	Hamilton	11 beer parlors and lounges	observation	replication of Ossenberg's study of class dfferences in bar behaviour during a community festival (Grey Cup Week)

TABLE 1. OBSERVATIONAL STUDIES IN CANADA (continued)

Year	References	Site	Number and Type of Locale	Methods Used	Foci
1974	Fish et al., 1975	Thunder Bay, Ontario	25 bars	observation? and population survey	drinking and driving of bar patrons
1972	Cutler and Storm, 1975	Vancouver	8 beer parlors	observation	feasibility of observational methods; rates of drinking; influence of size of drinking group
1977-78	Pernanen, 1979; Pernanen and Carsjo, 1980	Thunder Bay, Ontario	bars	observation and population survey	incidence of aggressive behaviour
1978-79	Ratcliffe and Caverhill, 1978; Ratcliffe et al., 1978; 1979; 1980a; 1980b; 1980c; 1980d	Edmonton	taverns and lounges	observation, informants	types of taverns; environmental influences on drinking; drinking rates in lounges vs. taverns; solitary drinking; compared to Sommer's 1963 study
1978	Graham et al., 1978; Graham and Turnbull, 1978; Graham et al., 1980	Vancouver	185 licensed establishments	observation	determinants of aggressive behaviour
1979	Fisher, 1980	Toronto	10 singles bars	observation and interviews of patrons, questionnaires	anxiety in singles bars

TABLE 1. OBSERVATIONAL STUDIES IN CANADA (continued)

Year	References	Site	Number and Type of Locale	Methods Used	Foci
1975	Storm and Cutler, 1981	Vancouver	4 beer parlors and 4 cocktail lounges	observation and interviews of patrons	drinking rate; size of group and length of stay as determinants of drinking rate
1975-76	Elliott and Cosper, 1982	Halifax	tavern patrons	time budget analysis and population survey	comparison of time budget to interview estimates of tavern-going
1972-82	Israelstam and Lambert, 1982	Toronto plus other cities	gay bars	participant observation, documentary analysis of advertisements	drinking problems among gays

In the 1960s in the United States, Mello, Mendelson and others conducted studies on the drinking behaviour of clinical alcoholics under controlled laboratory conditions (see Mello, 1972, for a review of these studies). Schaefer and his colleagues (1971) found that compared with social drinkers, alcoholics take larger sips and more often prefer straight liquor. Saunders and Richard (1978) were unable to replicate these findings in observations of alcoholics and social drinkers in natural settings. (See Shortt and Vogel-Sprott, 1978, for a review of this controversy.) Other experiments focussed on the manipulation of variables which might influence the drinking behaviour of alcoholics. Miller and his colleagues (1974) found that social stress and the presence of visual cues were related to the willingness to work for alcohol.

More recent experiments have focussed more on social drinking. Holroyd (1978) found that socially anxious persons drank less in a laboratory "party" situation. In a series of studies (Caudill and Marlatt, 1975; Garlington and DeRicco, 1977; DeRicco, 1978) strong support was given to the notion that drinking rates are socially determined. Rates of beer consumption were heavily influenced by changing the consumption of others in the subject's drinking group.

The applicability of laboratory studies to natural situations remains an issue. Billings and his associates (1976) found that tavern patrons consume their drinks more quickly and more often prefer beer as compared with subjects observed in the laboratory. Strickler and colleagues (1979) also found higher rates of drinking in barrooms as opposed to laboratory settings.

The ideal approach would be to take advantage of "natural" experiments. For example, the impact of two beer strikes in Ontario on rates of consumption and patterns of drinking was studied in order to examine critically alternative approaches to beverage substitution (Single, 1979). The observations of Reid (1978) provide a further example of a natural experiment. On an airplane flight which involved two stops, Reid noted a marked impact of visual stimuli on drinking behaviour. On the shorter parts of the flight when the drink cart was not used, less than 3% of the passengers ordered drinks. When the drink cart was used, over 40% ordered drinks. Unfortunately, such observations are rarely reported in the literature. This is understandable as these events are difficult to anticipate and they may occur so suddenly that there is insufficient time to design well-controlled research.

In sum, a wide variety of approaches to the study of public drinking can be identified, but research in this area has tended to be based primarily or exclusively on unobtrusive observations in taverns. There are some examples of general population surveys on tavern-going and there is a small but growing body of work on experimental bars. Other approaches are quite exceptional. There are few historical studies and no community studies focussing exclusively on alcohol use. The best research designs should incorporate a variety of techniques, as each methodological approach has its drawbacks. Nonetheless, most studies have relied exclusively on one method.

Literature Review: Substantive Findings

The substantive issues and findings of research on public drinking can be summarized under the following topics: types of drinking establishments,

characteristics of tavern patrons, situational determinants of drinking behaviour, and problems associated with drinking in public settings.

a) Types of Drinking Establishments and the Functions of the Tavern

Historically, the tavern has served a variety of functions. The first drinking establishments probably originated in connection with inns for travellers sometime during the third millenium B.C. in the river valleys of the Nile, the Tigris and Euphrates, and the Indus. Tavern behaviour was explicitly regulated in the Code of Hammurabi in ancient Babylonia. In his historical review of the tavern, Popham (1978) was particularly concerned with the political role of the tavern. By providing a meeting place for the lower class to come together and discuss ideas, taverns have historically been associated with social unrest and revolutionary movements.

Indeed, throughout history one of the most salient features of tavern culture is its sociability. Even in the Temperance literature, the saloon was recognized by many writers to be "the poor man's club." As Popham states, "The term 'club' was felt to be applicable because each saloon community had its own constituency; that is to say, a group of regular patrons, numbering about 50 on the average, and united by common needs, values and interests" (1978: 283). Writing in 1911, a critic of the New York saloons stated:

> At last we are to our subject. What is the value of the Saloon? The ancient tavern filled the instinct for good fellowship in the old days of our ancestors. That same desire for companionship is in the blood of this generation. Bagehot declares that the very foundations of Democracy rest upon the opportunity for discussion. Rubbing up against other men is then not only a healthy instinct, but it is fundamental for the maintenance of our best institutions.
>
> The rich man entertains in his home, or takes his car over to the "Club". His social instinct is thus fully satisfied.
>
> What does the poor man do? Entertain at home? There isn't room for the brats now. He is glad to get out. Go to the club? He has but one club that is the saloon or in the saloon. Here he finds other men, just as glad to be free from an overcrowded home as he is, just as glad to forget their troubles in a glass of liquor. The surroundings make him feel at home. In a church he would feel uncomfortable because his clothes are old and dirty. Here he is dressed like all the other men. He celebrates by treating his friends, talks and hears the news and goes home feeling warm and delightfully indifferent to his troubles. The saloon is the poor man's Club. It is the purest democracy in America. (Laubach, 1911: 28).

Calkins (1971) similarly found that the hold of the tavern on the community does not proceed entirely from its role in satisfying thirst for drink. Rather, "it satisfies also the thirst for sociability." Farley's study of beer parlours and cocktail lounges in Calgary, Thomas's study (1978) of 26 bars in a New England industrial city and Anderson's ethnographic description of the social life at a South Chicago bar (1978) similarly typify working class taverns as social clubs.

Anderson argues that the interaction between the men who frequent "Jelly's" is not simply unstructured, effortless sociability, but it is instead a very complex and orderly negotiation for personal identity and status that is carried out in identifiable and almost ritualistic patterns of deference and demeanor.

It may well be that the role of the tavern as a social centre is particularly important to minority groups. In a very different context, Graves and his colleagues (1981) found that in New Zealand the native Maoris and other minority Polynesian groups were more likely than the pakeha (Europeans) to drink in large groups and engage in group activities. As a consequence, the Polynesians drink more and are more likely to become involved in serious incidents of barroom violence. The authors note that group drinking serves as an expression of ethnic identity and solidarity for these minority groups within the predominantly individualistic pakeha society.

In a study of the drinking behaviour of young, working class males, Burns (1980) concluded that group drinking by adolescents is much like a rite of passage from boyhood into manhood. Adolescent drinking behaviour is not random but shaped by cultural norms which facilitate the attainment of desired masculine roles.

Kotarba (1977) points to another aspect of tavern culture in his paper on "The Serious Nature of Tavern Sociability." In four neighbourhood taverns in Chicago where he served as a bartender, Kotarba notes how the regulars perceived their drinking as "serious business," constituting an integral part of their daily lives. Tavern sociability facilitates the development of an information network regarding police activities. This network is used to avoid drinking and driving enforcement.

The "serious" nature of tavern sociability is further illustrated by the frequent reference to the tavern as a marketplace. The Temperance literature on the saloon (Laubach, 1911) and the modern literature on working class taverns (LeMasters, 1975; Popham, 1978) have noted the use of taverns as employment information centres where regular customers may learn of job opportunities. Cocktail lounges, particularly those in business districts, function as venues for a variety of business transactions. As alcohol consumption has increased over the past three decades, so too has the acceptance of drinking at lunchtime (Single and Giesbrecht, 1978).

The tavern has also served as a sexual marketplace. Two examples of establishments which cater to sexual marketing are the singles bar and the gay bar. In a participant observation study of eleven singles bars in a Western U.S. city, Cloyd (1976) analyzed how the physical structure of these bars was designed to maximize the patrons' ability to initiate and control encounters with members of the opposite sex. He also described the typical tactics used to increase the probability of a sexual encounter. Gordon (1976) similarly described behaviour in a singles bar, but she also linked her observations with a general analysis of how conventional means of forming relationships are no longer operative in contemporary urban society. Gordon's main thesis is that the problem of loneliness has been taken over by big business, namely the "singles industry," and one facet of this industry is the singles bar. Fisher (1980) studied 133 patrons of singles bars in Toronto, focussing on anxiety. She described a variety of face-saving devices

used to reduce anxiety in these establishments, one of the most prevalent being a denial that one is part of the singles scene.

Like singles bars, gay bars function as a sexual marketplace, but they also serve as social centres for gay communities (Israelstam and Lambert, 1982). Thus, their import extends far beyond providing a place for persons interested in sexual encounters to meet. From Popham's study (1982), which included one gay tavern, it would appear that these establishments were formerly very rare and that the patronage was quite transitory, perhaps reflecting the greater reluctance of homosexuals to be identified as such in the early 1950s. Because gay bars are both sexual marketplaces and community bars, they deserve greater attention on the part of the researchers. The only study which focusses on gay bars is that of Israelstam and Lambert in Toronto (1984).

Given the many functions of taverns, it is not surprising that attempts to classify drinking establishments have yielded very diverse results. Frequently a researcher conducting an observation study focusses on a narrow range of establishments and therefore only makes limited distinctions. For example, Cutler and Storm (1975) describe the beer parlour as opposed to the cocktail lounge in their Vancouver study. In a similar fashion, Smith focussed on just one type of establishment, the neighbourhood pub, which he classified as consisting of three types: the rough pub, the mixed pub and the posh pub (1983).

One of the earlier attempts to classify the full array of types of taverns in a particular setting was the study of Stolte (1937-38) in Dallas. Based primarily on geographic criteria, Stolte distinguished downtown taverns, interstitial taverns, neighbourhood-community taverns and peripheral taverns. Popham's classification of Toronto taverns in the early 1950s used the characteristics of patrons and the general activity within the establishments as the underlying criteria for his five-fold typology: neighbourhood taverns, skid-row taverns, downtown bars, brothel taverns and gay bars.

Perhaps the best known classification of drinking establishments is that of Sherry Cavan from her classic study of the cocktail waitress in San Francisco in the mid-1960s (Cavan, 1966). Cavan distinguished four types of bars: "convenience bars", which would include many of the downtown bars; "nightspots", which generally would feature entertainment; "marketplace bars", which would include singles bars, gay bars and business-oriented lounges; and "home territory bars", which would encompass not only Popham's notion of the neighbourhood tavern but also the skid-row tavern.

Regardless of the type of tavern involved, the tavern staff play a key role in maintaining the predominant function of the establishment. As Popham states (1982: 62):

> ...it is with the waiter or bartender that the patron is frequently in contact and likely to develop a sustained relationship.
>
> It seems to the writer that much of the patterned character of tavern life is attributable to these two functionaries, and that many questions which may occur to an observer can be answered by reference to their behaviour, for example: how regular status is developed and maintained, what causes shifts in the taverns favoured

by particular groups such as homosexuals, and not others, and what induces some patrons to drink faster and consume more in group situations than they otherwise would.

Popham then presents evidence for the importance of the tavern staff. Waiters and bartenders grant regular status to patrons via friendship behaviour, protective functions, special privileges and other preferential treatment. Their influence is so strong that it can be claimed that they select regular patrons and determine drinking rates.

In addition to the work of Cavan and Popham, a number of studies have focussed on either the waitress (Spradley and Mann, 1975) or the bartender (Smith, 1981a; Waring and Sperr, 1982). Several authors have recommended the use of the bartender as a resource worker for the prevention of alcohol abuse (Dumont, 1967; Bissonette, 1977; Waring and Sperr, 1982). However, this recommendation has never been implemented in any programme. The failure to do so should not be surprising. Popham has postulated four factors which affect the serving behaviour of the tavern staff: (1) management's desire to maximize profits; (2) the desire of waiters and bartenders to minimize their labour; (3) the desire to maximize tips and (4) patron tolerance. An attempt by tavern functionaries to reduce patrons' drinking jeopardizes profits, tips and patron tolerance.

b) Characteristics of Tavern Patrons

As indicated by the research described in the previous section, different types of establishments attract different clienteles. However, there are also certain patterns regarding the overall likelihood of a person frequenting any kind of drinking establishment.

Clark (1966) examined the responses of 1268 persons sampled in a 1962 California drinking practices survey and reported the sociodemographic correlates of tavern-going. He found that sex, age and marital status are all strongly and independently related to frequency of visiting a tavern. Thus, 64% of men compared with only 45% of women reported going to a tavern at least once in the past year. Frequency of tavern-going was also strongly and consistently related to age: 76% of those in their 20s reported going to taverns compared with 24% of those who were 60 years of age or older. Single individuals were the most likely to patronize drinking establishments, followed by divorced or separated persons and married persons.

The relationship of social class factors to tavern patronage showed somewhat surprising results. Perhaps due to the emphasis of the Temperance literature on the impact of the saloon on poverty, the prevailing impression of many persons was that lower socioeconomic status would be associated with tavern-going. Contrary to expectations, Clark found occupational level, income and education to be positively but weakly related to tavern-going. Given the emphasis of the tavern literature up to this time on working class drinking locales, these findings accentuate the need to supplement observational methods with more generalizable quantitative techniques such as sample surveys. Subsequent research by Clark (1981) has confirmed these patterns.

Using data from a 1977 U.S. national survey, Fisher (1981) also examined a number of psychosocial correlates of tavern-going. Like Clark (1966), he found sex, age and marital status to be the strongest predictors, with young single men being the most likely persons to regularly patronize taverns. Unlike Clark, Fisher found a negative relationship between social class and tavern-going. In both studies the relationship was weak. Fisher also examined the connection between religiosity and tavern patronage. Contrary to expectations, it was found that the relationship is rather tenuous. Similarly, subjective assessment of the respondents' environment, well-being and life situation were also found to be weakly related to tavern-going.

All in all, the impression that one receives from these studies is that other than sex, age and marital status, sociodemographic variables do not distinguish tavern patrons from the general population. Members of virtually every ethnic, occupational and income group are to be found in taverns. Other research indicates that those factors most strongly associated with tavern-going are not necessarily those which relate most strongly to rates of consumption within the tavern setting. As one might expect, it has been found that men drink more than women in a college beer parlour (Rosenbluth et al., 1978), in British pubs (Plant et al., 1977) and in California bars (Hunter et al., 1982). However, in the latter two studies it was found that manual workers and lower income patrons consume more than those with higher socio-economic status. This may well reflect the tendency for lower income persons to drink in larger groups. As we shall see, size of drinking group is an important determinant of consumption levels.

The extent to which these findings apply to Canadian settings is largely a matter of speculation. Studies based on unobtrusive observation in taverns suggest a pattern of patronage associated with sex, age and marital status, but it is difficult to generalize from such studies. Only two studies in Canada have collected data on tavern-going in a general population sample and neither of these focussed on the correlates of public drinking. Elliott and Cosper (1982) were mainly concerned with differences in the aggregate rate of tavern-going when ordinary survey techniques were compared with time budget data. However, they did report that in Halifax, males and young adults are more likely than others to patronize drinking establishments. Pernanen and Carsjo's preliminary analysis of a general population survey in Thunder Bay, Ontario (1980), did not specifically address tavern-going but did include data on the correlates of consumption levels in public drinking locales. Age and sex were strongly related to self-reported levels of consumption on the last occasion in a public drinking place. Further, these two variables were found to have independent effects and, taken together, they accounted for a wide variation in drinking levels. Thus, young males between the ages of 18 and 29 reported consuming an average of 7.1 centilitres of ethanol on the last drinking occasion compared with 0.6 centilitres for women above the age of 60.

In sum, the evidence regarding the correlates of tavern patronage is based on a very small number of studies. While young adults, males and single persons are clearly more likely than others to frequent taverns, other sociodemographic variables are not strongly related to tavern-going. Although socioeconomic status is not strongly related to the chance that a person will patronize taverns, it does appear to be related to levels of consumption in the tavern, with lower income groups being more likely to drink in larger groups and thus consume

higher levels of alcoholic beverages. Even these rather sparse findings are based mainly on U.S. studies.

c) Situational Determinants of Heavy Drinking

Research on public drinking behaviour has identified five major sets of situational determinants of heavy or problem-related drinking: temporal variations, characteristics of the drinking group, the length of time spent on one drinking occasion, the characteristics of the physical environment within the drinking establishment, and indices of availability.

Perhaps the most obvious correlates of heavy drinking are temporal variables. There is almost universally greater drinking during evening hours and weekends than weekday mornings and afternoons. Indeed, this relationship is so common that most authors do not report it and exact data on temporal variations are needed for Canada. Nor have data been reported on the extent of drinking with meals. Given the general trend for alcohol to be less and less viewed as a special commodity (Single et al., 1981: 4-5), it might be expected that the strength of these temporal variables in drinking rates will diminish over time, but to date there have not been sufficient data reported to demonstrate this trend.

There is, however, a small set of studies which focus on festival drinking. The volume of drinking is considerably higher during holiday periods, as indicated by sales data (deLint, 1960a; 1960b). Indeed, from 1972 to 1976, December sales at the Liquor Control Board of Ontario outlets were 14% of the total annual sales versus the monthly average of 8% (Single and Giesbrecht, 1978: Table 17). Observation studies have confirmed the same pattern of increased drinking during festivals. As noted earlier, Ossenberg (1969) described drinking behaviour during the 1966 Calgary Stampede as a "middle-class binge." Listiak (1974) similarly found a strong relationship between disinhibited drinking and social class during the 1972 Grey Cup Week in Hamilton. O'Donnell (1982) on the other hand, reported the victory celebration in San Francisco after the Forty-Niners football team won the Super Bowl in 1982 as a "neighbourhood festival" and a "celebration of the community as a whole" which offered everyone a chance to "be a winner". Whether the relationship between social class and festival drinking is a distinctively Canadian phenomenon remains at issue.

A situational factor which received a great deal of attention from researchers engaged in observational studies is the influence of the drinking group. The Mass Observation team found that isolated drinkers consumed less than people drinking in groups, and they attributed this finding to the social pressure of keeping up with the fastest drinkers (Mass Observation, 1943). A number of studies have shown that the consumption rate of drinking confederates is a strong influence on consumption, and that the influence of high-rate drinking companions is greater than the influence of low-rate drinking companions (Caudill and Marlatt, 1975; DeRicco and Garlington, 1977; DeRicco, 1978; DeRicco and Niemann, 1980). It would appear that the drinking norms described by Bruun in 1959 among the subjects in his Finnish small-group drinking experiment continue to have a wide applicability. Bruun observed that it was permissible for a group member to drink more than other members of the group but not less (1959: 91).

A second way in which drinking in groups may influence patrons to drink more is via its effect on duration of stay. In his study of Edmonton beer parlors, Sommer (1965) found isolated drinkers consume less than persons drinking in groups, but he attributed this to the shorter duration of stay in the drinking establishments. The finding that group drinkers tend to consume more than isolated drinkers has been replicated in Canada (Storm and Cutler, 1981; Ratcliffe et al., 1980b) and in the U.S. (Foy and Simon, 1978).

In addition to the size of the drinking group, a further influence on length of stay is the physical environment. By providing television, games and other activities, the tavern can increase the duration of patrons' visits and thus increase the volume of business. Even the tempo of music can influence drinking. Bach and Schaefer (1979) found that the slower the tempo of country and western music played in bars in Western Montana, the faster the patrons consumed their drinks. Ratcliffe and his associates (1980a) found that in beverage rooms where dancing and games were provided, the patrons who participated in these activities stayed longer and drank more than non-participants. Sommer (1969) contrasts the Edmonton beer parlors with English pubs and attributes the short duration of stay by isolated drinkers in the former situation to the lack of anything to do other than sit and watch other people drink.

Apart from its impact on duration of stay, the physical environment can influence drinking behaviour in other ways. Cloyd (1976) details how the layout of "market-place" bars is designed to maximize a patron's discretionary power to initiate and control encounters with other patrons. Cavan (1966) describes bars as "open regions" where patrons have the right to initiate conversation with others and an obligation to accept overtures from others. As Ratcliffe and his associates point out (1980b), the degree of such "openness" is manipulable: the closed nature of lounges tends to foster a genteel atmosphere and greater privacy, as compared with the more open nature of taverns. Contrary to what many would expect, however, Ratcliffe and his associates found no support for the assumption that the lounge atmosphere fosters moderate drinking. Thus, the physical layout of the drinking establishment very much affects the nature of drinking groups, the atmosphere within the setting and the length of drinking, but the net impact on consumption levels is not clear.

One final situational determinant of heavy drinking which has not been given a great deal of attention is availability. There are no studies relating geographic density of taverns to volume of consumption in taverns. Without longitudinal data, the causal ordering of availability and consumption might be questioned, but one might at least expect studies to consider the impact of differentials in price as they affect consumption. No such studies exist, with one notable exception. Babor and his colleagues (1978) found that "happy hour" price reductions have significantly increased alcohol consumption on the part of both casual and heavy drinkers.

The lack of attention given to availability measures in tavern studies is perhaps not surprising when one considers the essentially social nature of public drinking. After all, if the purpose of going to taverns were simply to drink, one would find very few people patronizing them because it is much cheaper to drink at home. Nonetheless, indices of availability within the tavern setting may well prove to be important influences on drinking patterns, despite the fact that they have been relatively neglected by observation studies.

d) Problems Associated With Public Drinking

There are several problems associated with public drinking -- drunk driving, public drunkenness and aggressive behaviour, and the contribution of taverns to the development of alcoholism.

One of the most salient policy issues with respect to drinking in taverns and other licensed establishments is the drunk driving problem. Nonetheless, this issue has received scant attention from researchers conducting observation studies. Fish and his colleagues (1975) found the tavern patron in Thunder Bay, Ontario, did indeed contribute significantly to the incidence of drunk driving. One third of the bar patrons in this study intended to drive after drinking; driving patrons did not have lower rates of consumption than non-drivers and were not concerned about having to drive after drinking.

Unlike the situation in many other settings such as the Nordic countries (see, e.g., Mäkelä et al., 1981), the problem of public drunkenness is not commonly viewed as a major social problem in Canada or the U.S. Indeed, the association between public drinking and incidents of public drunkenness has been called to question. Popham found no relationship between density of drinking establishments and arrests for drunkenness (Popham, 1962: 21-22). MacAndrew and Edgerton contended in their classic Drunken Comportment (1969) that a person's behaviour under the influence of alcohol is socially learned rather than pharmacologically determined.

Nonetheless, in both experimental and natural situations there is considerable evidence that drunkenness is strongly associated with aggressiveness, even though it may not inevitably produce violence. Zeichner and Pihl (1980) found that intoxicated subjects were more aggressive in applying shock intensities to others when compared to placebo or non-drinking subjects. In the naturalistic barroom setting, a significant correlation between alcohol consumption and aggressiveness has been observed in New Zealand (Graves et al., 1981) and in Canada (Graham et al., 1978). In a series of studies (Graham et al., 1978, Graham and Turnbull, 1978; Graham et al., 1980), Graham and her associates examined the correlates of aggression in Vancouver taverns. In addition to the state of intoxication, it was found that a number of situational variables correlated strongly with aggressiveness, including duration of drinking, decor, noise level, cleanliness of the establishment, atmosphere and other aspects of the physical environment within the drinking locale.

As a supplement to his observations in Toronto taverns in the early 1950s, Popham (1982) arranged a series of group interviews with clinical alcoholics in order to ascertain the role of the tavern in the development of alcoholism. He found that alcoholics tended to frequent different types of establishments as their drinking became more heavy:

> The change which occurred in the alcoholic phase of the drinking history appeared to be increasingly frequent isolation of the individual from his customary social milieu. There was increasing use of taverns of the Skid-row type, which he would not patronize except when on a bender, and a corresponding association with persons he deemed to be of inferior social status. (Popham, 1982: 86)

The tavern served a dual purpose in the development of heavy drinking among these alcoholics. In addition to providing a source of alcohol, it filled the void left in the alcoholic's social life by his dissociation from former friends and family. As Popham puts it:

> The data suggest that the tavern was not only a source of alcohol but, for some discussants at least, provided a refuge from the anomie occasioned by the withdrawal (temporarily or permanently) from customary institutional associations such as family and old friends. (Popham: 1982: 86)

Some of Popham's subjects even tried to partake of the social life of the tavern without drinking but they were not successful. Thus, Popham concludes that tavern interaction is in many ways a "ritual behaviour" in which all elements (including alcohol) must be present to be effective.

It is somewhat surprising that the adverse consequences of drinking have not been a focus of many observation studies. Part of the reason may be the orientation of most observation studies toward the sociable and non-problematic aspects of tavern culture. The lack of attention placed on drunk driving and other alcohol problems indicates how the recent literature on the tavern differs significantly from the Temperance literature on the saloon.

Another reason for the lack of attention paid to alcohol-related problems may be the tendency to view any problems which occur outside the boundaries of the drinking establishment as problems for the patron rather than the tavern owner (Gusfield, 1981). Whereas under-age drinking and other behaviour within the tavern are viewed as the responsibility of the owner, the patron is usually held to be solely responsibile for problems such as drunk driving, or excessive drinking leading to alcoholism, or even violent behaviour if it occurs outside of the tavern. However, there are several indications that this is changing. There is a growing body of case law in the U.S. supporting the contention that tavern owners are responsible at least in part for damage that occurs to third parties as a result of the behaviour of intoxicated patrons (Mosher, 1982). Third party liability of licensed establishments is similarly a contentious legal issue in Canada (Solomon, 1982). In a unique programme, the City Council of Plymouth, Minnesota, has instituted various financial incentives for bars and liquor stores to participate in an alcohol abuse prevention programme (Schaefer, 1982).

There is yet one other possible explanation for the relative lack of attention placed on alcohol-related problems in tavern studies. This is the most obvious explanation: acute problems arising from tavern drinking are not as serious as other alcohol problems. Thus, Gilbert (1979) has suggested that policies in Ontario be aimed at reversing the trend toward greater consumption of alcoholic beverages in private on the grounds that private drinking is "less restrained" than public drinking. In a provocative vein, Gilbert views tavern culture as an antidote to modern "narcissism":

> Any large increase in the price of alcohol would reduce overall alcohol use. Promoting public drinking, while limiting private drinking, could ... make the increase more palatable. A benefit of boosting public drinking might be an increase in the amount of and quality of our public life, and a reversal of the trend in our culture towards a narcissism that leaves no one to fend for society. (Gilbert, 1979: 5).

It is beyond the scope of this review to consider the enormous issue of whether public drinking entails fewer or greater deleterious consequences than private drinking. On one hand there is a great deal of concern with drunk driving, and, to a lesser extent, public intoxication. However, as Gilbert's contention indicates, there is also some sentiment in favour of promoting public drinking. Clearly this policy debate would be better informed if the tavern literature paid greater attention than it has in the past to the adverse consequences of drinking and the policy implications of research in the tavern setting.

Conclusions

Two major conclusions can be made regarding the literature on public drinking. First, the amount of research on public drinking is relatively sparse. Only four studies have ever been conducted in Ontario and only fifteen in Canada. Major types of approaches have yet to be tried. For example, there has been only one general population survey in a Canadian setting regarding the characteristics of tavern-goers (Pernanen and Carsjo, 1980) and that research was limited to Thunder Bay, Ontario. There have been no experimental barroom studies, no media studies and no community studies.

The second major conclusion regarding the literature on public drinking is that tavern studies have been largely atheoretical. As noted in the introduction, the study of public drinking can be justified on at least two major grounds -- as epidemiological research in that public drinking constitutes a large portion of alcohol consumption, and as basic research on the etiology of drinking problems in that public drinking constitutes a high portion of heavy drinking occasions. Most tavern studies have been ethnographic and descriptive in their approach, with no attempt to develop theoretical models to explain findings. The most notable exceptions to this pattern have been the small body of work on experimental bars, particularly Bruun's small group experiments (Bruun, 1959), and Storm and Cutler's (1975) theory of personal resources. Observational studies of tavern behaviour would profit from a greater awareness of the theoretical orientations of these works.

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THE FUNCTIONS OF TAVERNS

Thomas Storm* and R.E. Cutler**

A number of reviews of tavern research have dealt with the multiple functions of taverns. Taverns are places to drink. Taverns are places for recreation. Taverns are places to socialize. Taverns may act as community centers. Taverns provide a convenient cover for the pursuit of economic, political, and sexual dealings, licit and illicit. Notions like the "purchase of friendship", the "poor man's club", "sexual marketplace", and "open territory" suggest some of the reasons taverns are patronized and some of the ways they are suited to the purposes named.

Eric Single has just summarized this research. Almost all of the literature he has cited is relevant, at least tangentially, to our topic. That literature is the background for the general observations we will make in this paper. The studies which are richest in detail and most illuminating on the social processes that mediate the functions of taverns are based on participant observation and necessarily limited in locale. Cavan's (1966) classic monograph, Thomas' (1978) study of bars in a New England town, and Popham's (1982) fieldwork on the Toronto tavern are most closely related to our own experience and to Canadian conditions. We have relied on those studies and our own participant observation, some of it systematic and self-conscious, some of it not. The conditions of public drinking not only vary with locality but change with time even in the past few decades. Natural opportunities for participant observation also change as the observer ages. Thus there are limitations on both systematic, formal studies and on the unsystematic, informal knowledge gained through personal experience.

The informal experience on which the following observations are based includes corner bars in industrial suburbs of Pennsylvania during the 1950s, local pubs in New Zealand in the late 1950s, early 1960s, Vancouver beer parlours and cocktail lounges in the 1960s and 1970s, and, for the past five years, the beverage rooms of small towns in the Maritime Provinces. Drinking in private

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* Department of Psychology, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

** Vancouver, British Columbia.

clubs and private homes is part of the experience in all those locations and part of the total context in which tavern drinking must be placed, in general. In addition to this informal, unrecorded experience, one of us has recorded all the drinking occasions in which he participated over a period of at least 15 years and has protocols for a large number of the social occasions, whether they took place in a tavern, a club, a private home, or some consecutive combination of these. The protocols include records of the number and the particular people present, the date and the time the occasion began and ended, the place, the general kinds of activities, and as much about the amount and distribution of drinking as possible. The latter information varied considerably. In the discussion that follows, we have tried to use this material, tempered by a knowledge of what other people do and by the published studies, to make some general observations whose validity and generality might be the subject of future and more rigorous research.

This paper will focus on aspects of sociability in relation to tavern drinking and to drinking in other settings. Much of it will be concerned with the determinants involved in choosing the tavern over the other settings and the effects of that choice.

Everything people do in taverns, they could do elsewhere. Whether they choose taverns depends on the tavern's availability and suitability for a particular purpose compared to alternative settings. The policies of government and its regulatory agencies affect the amount and the character of tavern activities. Segments of the population differ in their purposes and the relative suitability of taverns to their pursuits.

Rarely, if ever, is any tavern limited in its use to a single type of patron or single purpose. One type of use may be predominant, and this is one basis for typologies of the tavern. The same tavern serves different patrons and different purposes at different times of the day and week. This fact poses difficulties for classifications based on functional criteria. There are no studies we know of which have employed a systematic census of tavern patronage using direct counts of the occupants and their groupings throughout a full weekly cycle. It seems likely that such simple, quantitative data would provide information for constructing classifications of drinking contexts. It would certainly be helpful to studies making detailed observations of drinking behaviour as a guide to selecting a sample suited to their purposes. If additional information about the kinds of people and their reasons for being there could be obtained, it would be even more useful, although it would be more expensive and more obtrusive.

Classifications based on geographical location (downtown bars, neighbourhood taverns, skid-row bars) like those of Popham (1982) and Macrory (1952) are closely related to function. Storm and Cutler (1981) suggested that the type of license - lounge or beer-parlour - was related to type of use in Vancouver (and probably across Canada). This was supported by the observation of marked differences in group size and composition. The saloon bar and the public bar within the same establishment in English pubs probably represents a difference in type of sociability as well as difference in social class. Similar distinctions existed in New Zealand and Canada when the bars for men only and for women and escorts were separate entities and have tended to persist since the restrictions on women have been removed. These are examples of a deliberate distinction, at least partly on the basis of function, both affecting and reflecting

the nature of sociability that occurs in these settings. Thomas (1978) used a combination of physical and social characteristics to classify drinking places in a small, New England industrial city.

Each of these relatively objective bases for dividing up the population of taverns reflects a characteristic likely to affect the purposes for which a tavern is used. Each is, in turn, created or affected by the licensing and regulatory policies of government agencies. The presence or absence of taverns and their number in urban locations or the smaller communities of a region is controlled by licensing boards, more or less reflecting local attitudes. This inevitably affects the social life of the community.

There were no taverns - beer-parlour or cocktail lounge - in many of the neighbourhoods in Vancouver. There was no community centre, therefore, for informal sociability among neighbours. There were no "convenience bars" for patrons or people employed in neighbourhood shopping areas. The beer parlour nearest to the university was several miles away. Under these conditions, a session of sociable drinking has to be a planned, less casual event requiring a substantial chunk of time.

In rural parts of the Maritimes also, licensed taverns - lounges and beverage rooms - are often not easy to find. It seems that clubs (e.g., the Legion) serve the purposes of taverns for a much larger proportion of the population than is probably the case elsewhere. They cannot easily serve all of the purposes, however. Though they are not very exclusive, they are not fully open. Their hours of service are more limited, mostly to weekend evenings. In these communities there is often no satisfactory way simply to go out in the middle of the working day, after completion of a transaction, for a ceremonial drink to end the encounter on a sociable note. If the personal or business relationship is sufficiently important, one will wait for lunch; otherwise, a coffee shop will have to do, or all ceremonial pretence omitted. Similarly, any break or transition in the cycle of the day's activities must be marked in some alternative way to a casual drink. Alcohol consumption, of course, is reduced by the amount contributed by this kind of occasion. Since these occasions are likely to be light, the reduction is small.

The physical characteristics of the tavern, whether influenced by regulation, custom, or economic factors, also affect the tavern's suitability for one purpose or another. Vancouver beer parlours do not foster intimacy or unstructured, spontaneous fellowship among their patrons. Use of the tavern as a social club in the way that Thomas (1978) describes for the working man in New England and others have described in other locations may be rare in Canada because of their relatively large floor areas, the requirement of table seating, the absence of a bar, and the restriction on movement of patrons with drinks. The atmosphere and rituals of the local pub or neighbourhood bar are more often found, in our experience, in clubs and rarely in taverns. Toronto in the late 1950s (Popham, 1982) may have been an exception and may be an exception still since recently the variety of drinking places has become much richer there and elsewhere, reflecting the general trend to liberalization and cosmopolitanism. Toronto leads the way in this respect, however, and large areas of anglophone Canada are still quite barren for casual, local sociability.

The kind of entertainment permitted or provided, if any, will affect the predominant purpose for which a tavern is used and its suitability for other

purposes. Loud music, or any dominant external focus of attention (live entertainment, large-screen television) will change the character of tavern activity. One local drinking place we know (a club) increased its patronage and total sales in the weekday hours between 7 - 9 p.m. by scheduling videotaped feature movies during those hours. By so doing, it also eliminated one location during those hours for casual conversation and sociability.

The focus of any discussion of tavern functions must be sociability. We will use sociability in a general sense referring to any gathering of people who interact with each other for something other than strictly business purposes. This means that it includes the possibility that some "serious" purposes may be included along with interaction for its own sake, or for "play". People go to taverns to drink and they drink while there, but they ordinarily drink in company. The amount of public drinking contributed by occasions when companionship is not a major part, if not the only reason, is slight, just as the incidence of drinking by solitary patrons (whose reasons may, however, be social), in its contribution to public consumption, is also small.

One reason for going to the tavern which is not primarily sociable, although it may include company, is to kill time or fill a period of waiting. Airport bars and informal hotel bars may obtain a significant proportion of their patrons in this way. The style of drinking and interpersonal behaviour in this class of public drinking place might be interesting to examine in its own right, but it is not a major class. Similar occasions for casual (and brief) visits to a tavern are those whose function is to provide a break in an ongoing activity, or a transition from one activity to another. Convenience is a major determinant in the choice of a tavern over other alternatives, but company may be a major determinant as well.

Solitary drinkers in the tavern are a special case. The fact that they are rare is an indication of the primacy of sociability in tavern drinking. Not only are they rare, but their stay is usually brief and they drink less. They stay longer and drink more if they find some company. Some may have entered the tavern looking for company. Another indication of the primacy of sociability is the fact that the self-consciousness of the solitary drinker is probably one factor inhibiting extended visits. The self-consciousness relates to being alone, not to the drinking, since it is also experienced in restaurants. Being alone suggests a lack of friends and, possibly, unattractiveness, unless the setting (like the hotel or airport bar) explains it.

Alcoholics are the class of drinker who might be expected to exemplify tavern drinking where the drinking itself is genuinely primary. Popham's (1982) interviews with clinic alcoholics on their patterns of tavern use indicated that they often preferred a tavern for the early stages of a drinking spree and appreciated the social atmosphere even when they did not participate, but tended to move to skid-row taverns in later stages where obvious signs of advanced intoxication were less conspicuous and more likely to be tolerated. Skid-row taverns are, therefore, a specialized setting for drinking for the sake of drinking (as well as for other socially marginal activities) which seldom occurs in other types of taverns.

Sociability, in taverns or elsewhere, is one way to spend leisure time and has to be considered in the context of alternative leisure activities. In general, the more alternatives, the more attractive they are, the more accessible they

are, and the cheaper they are, the less leisure will be spent on sociability. One reason for a decline in sociability in general, if it has declined, is a proliferation of alternatives. The most certain alternative and the one most commonly accused of responsibility is television. Certainly the spread of television after the second world war coincided with the general disappearance of corner taverns. If there was a connection, it is ironic, because for a period of two or three years before private ownership was widespread, television was a major attraction to the tavern, particularly the Friday night fights. Williams and her associates (1976) recently studied the effects of the introduction of television on a remote community in the B.C. interior. (Similar communities which already had television were used as controls.) One of the effects which they found was a significant decline in attendance at the local tavern.

There are several varieties of sociability. The optimal conditions for each are somewhat different. The amount and character of associated drinking may differ also. Some conditions are common to all varieties. Sociability requires a place to meet or a place where people gather. There must be no focus of attention which is serious competition for interaction itself or for conversation which is the dominant form of interaction. The places that meet these conditions and provide a place to drink are the tavern, the club, and the private home. Of these three, only the private home is likely to be the location for a substantial proportion of nonsociable drinking (drinking with television in the evening, drinking before, during, or after dinner, etc.).

Drinking itself may be a condition for sociability. Other than the home, there are few meeting or gathering places where drinking does not occur. The coffee-house and cafeteria come to mind. Sociability does go on in these places, and in some times, in some places, they are specialized for that purpose. Soda shops, hamburger joints, and drive-ins have been hang-outs used as a gathering place by teenagers. It seems that there must be some public place to serve the function of the tavern for those who cannot or will not drink, but no single, conventional institution seems to have emerged to fit this need universally. Our guess is that on the free market, non-drinking places, including private parties at home, cannot compete as locations for sociability. Whatever the reason, pharmacological, sociological, or psychological, alcohol facilitates sociability.

If it is easy to find agreement on sociability as the major function of taverns, it is less easy to find agreement on the functions of sociability itself. The question could be ignored for the purposes of this paper except that two contrasting emphases are found in the literature specifically on the tavern. Both Cavan (1966), in her chapter on "bar sociability", and Thomas (1978) emphasize the inconsequential nature of tavern conversations. Cavan (1966), because she is talking largely about initial contacts between strangers, attributes this inconsequential quality partly to the need for a topic certain to be common knowledge. Thomas (1978), however, is talking about interactions among regulars who share a history in the tavern itself, in the town, and in the workplace. They could converse about topics which are of serious concern. Thomas (1978) indicates that such topics are actively discouraged.

Thomas's (1978) discussion is explicitly guided by Simmel's (1950) conception of sociability as "play" and of sociable occasions as time-out from business. Simmel (1950) views sociability as aesthetic in nature, involving the play of wit, the cooperative development of themes, and the portrayal of character, in all of

which the participants disclaim and are absolved of responsibility for the actual content or meaning of what they say and do because form is important, and the individual's skill in improvising and contributing to form is the criterion of value. The truly successful sociable occasion is a collective improvisational performance as isolated from the complex network of character, episode, and narrative connection which constitutes real life, as a play performed on stage. One of the prerequisites for sociability of this type, according to Simmel (1950), is equality of status or, at least, the temporary suspension of any signs or rituals of deference, authority, or dependence.

In contrast, Kotarba (1977) emphasizes "the serious nature of tavern sociability", illustrating the argument by the conversational exchange of information useful in dealing with drinking-driving problems among regulars of Chicago taverns. Popham (1982) similarly discusses the role of the tavern in providing a setting where political views can be exchanged, political consensus formed, political movements generated, and political actions coordinated. This role also illustrates the function of tavern as "cover" for activities requiring social exchange which need to be disguised from authority or which benefit, tactically, from disguise. Taverns have been haunts for conspirators and, therefore, haunts for spies and informants. In a less literally political sense, this function of sociability in the taverns and other locations where it occurs is very general. Information about relationships, attitudes, motives, and specific events, useful to individuals in accomplishing their purposes within organizations and communities, is commonly exchanged in the course of apparently casual and "playful" conversation. The dissemination and collection of such information is often the purpose of some of the participants. Gossip may have this function. The exchange of gossip is a common content of sociable interaction.

There is really nothing contradictory about the aesthetic conception of sociability as "play" and the recognition that it also has "serious" purposes and consequences. Conversations with an underlying seriousness are often conducted with the use of wit, role-playing, verbal and social skill that gives them aesthetic qualities enjoyed and appreciated for their own sake. The serious use of social occasions and settings depends upon the general acceptance of the fiction that they are entirely without ulterior purpose. Blatant violations of this collective fiction will destroy the sociable nature of the occasion, be resented and discouraged.

A related, serious function of sociability is the social comparison process (Festinger, 1954). Sociability is one medium for this process by which individuals become aware of the range of possible and acceptable opinions on issues of relevance to their everyday actions; form opinion influenced by that knowledge; test and seek social support for opinions tentatively formed; influence and are influenced by the collective norm. Similarity of status, background, and interest determine suitability for social comparison and, therefore, the formation of informal groups.

Because of the serious functions of sociability, interdependent groups with limited opportunities for sociable gatherings and individuals who rarely participate in them, function less effectively in many ways. A recent experience demonstrated the importance of a setting for sociability. A successful union organizing effort, we are convinced, was at least greatly facilitated, and possibly depended upon, the introduction of two new institutions, a faculty lunch room

and a club for Friday afternoon bars (often followed by a visit to the local tavern). Both these institutions played an important role, first in the formation of a consensus for unionization and, then, in the maintenance of morale through mutual support in the face of considerable opposition.

One final function of sociability often mentioned in the literature is, for the individual, the establishment and maintenance of personal identity and, for the group, the formation, maintenance, and expression of solidarity. This may vary from the general sense of being one with others, sharing an experience, to the more specific and central sense of belonging to a group that shares a history and culture and having a differentiated and recognized role in that group.

All of these aspects of sociability are present in every instance, although the balance varies. Implicit in the foregoing discussion is the dependence of that balance on the participants' relationships outside the particular occasion itself.

The nature of the relationship a patron, or group of patrons, is seeking to establish or maintain provides a basis for classifying forms of sociability that may be related differently to tavern characteristics and to the choice of a tavern over alternative settings. A patron may be seeking to strike up a friendship. A group of people who are already friends and who pursue their friendship in other contexts may use the tavern as a place to interact on a regular basis or as a form of variety on a special occasion. Small groups and couples may use the tavern to establish or pursue a more intimate relationship.

Finally, for members of a community, whether based on neighbourhood, occupation, ethnic group, or life-styles, the tavern may serve as a social centre where regulars may feel comfortable with the majority of other patrons and may drop in at any time expecting to find familiar faces.

Related to these distinctions is a form of sociability which we will call "party sociability". The coinage seems necessary because in ordinary usage the word "party" is used largely for occasions in private homes. The characteristics of a successful party, in this usual sense, are also found occasionally in other settings, including taverns.

We speculate that most heavy drinking occasions involve party sociability. Cavan (1966) has described the rituals that govern casual conversations among previously unacquainted patrons in San Francisco bars. The physical presence of a bar and seating at the bar are central to this process. New contacts may also be made with people sitting at tables, but this seems likely to depend on the accessibility and proximity of tables to each other and to the bar arrangement. The "purchase of friendship" idea belongs in this category, referring to the bartender's role as an all-purpose friend and potential mediator among other patrons. This variety of sociable activity is likely to be facilitated by a tavern whose total area is smaller, or to be limited to a bar and immediately adjacent tables. It may also be facilitated by crowding and standing room where patrons are necessarily forced into more intimate areas of personal space and naturally circulate en-route to the bar or washrooms. Finally, some taverns may be specialized for the encouragement of new acquaintances. Singles bars are the most obvious and perhaps the most prevalent example.

It is probable that the majority of patrons, at least during evening hours and in downtown taverns, are part of a group of established friends and

acquaintances who have come as a unit and leave as a unit, or at any rate, have arranged to meet for a period of tavern activity. Data from most quantitative observational studies in Canadian settings suggests this (e.g. Cutler and Storm, 1975; Storm and Cutler, 1981). The primary activity of these groups is conversational. When dancing, games, or other participant activities are possible, total amount of drinking by those who participate is more moderate, but only a minority participate (Ratcliffe et al., 1980a). There is little direct evidence on the decision-making process that brings such groups together in the tavern setting. For the smaller groups, the function of such occasions is probably the cultivation of intimacy. Groups of two or three individuals or similar numbers of couples are most likely to have this purpose; larger groups are likely to make intimate exchange difficult or impossible. Seating arrangements which establish clear boundaries and some degree of privacy facilitate intimacy; very high noise levels and bright lighting inhibit it. The choice of setting probably reflects these factors. In general, it seems likely that the duration of this type of drinking occasion is briefer than that of occasions with larger groups, and that it is more dependent on conversational resources and the stage of relationship development. People with few alternative places to meet or who require neutral territory are liable to use the tavern for intimate or serious conversation. How long they stay can depend on how much they have to say to each other. Smaller groups, especially pairs, may impose a strain on conversational resources and at the same time, focus responsibility on each individual to contribute. Only the most secure relationships can tolerate long conversational gaps without discomfort. The tavern, itself, can provide a focus of attention to occupy these gaps.

Conversations may be difficult to maintain in very small groups, but the cultivation of intimacy in conversation becomes increasingly more difficult in groups with numbers greater than four, for different reasons. Groups of five, six, or more are likely to be engaged in the expression of group cohesion and the continuation of congenial conversational topics in patterns familiar to all the participants.

It remains important that the group be separated, socially and physically, from others in the tavern. The size of the group that can maintain its integrity as a social unit in the tavern is limited. Six people can maintain a single conversation; twelve or more can do so only with great difficulty. This would be true in any setting. The physical conditions of the tavern, however, are more constraining to the extent that they require sitting at a table, or groups of tables, and mobility is limited.

The size of the group that can comfortably function, either for the pursuit of intimacy or the less personal activities of a group of regular associates, is affected by the physical characteristics of the tavern. Csikszentmihalyi (1968) speculated plausibly on the effect of the size and arrangement of tables and other seating arrangements on the kinds of group activities that take place in public drinking places. He contrasted the wine shop of the Mediterranean countries with the German beer hall, the English pub, and the American bar. He suggested that the wine shop encourages a kind of intimate interaction within small groups which is more difficult in the structural arrangements of the other institutions he described. Regardless of Csikzentmihalyi's (1968) particular interpretations, he called attention to the fact that physical characteristics

influence the kind of sociability that takes place, by facilitating some and hindering other forms of interactions.

Ratcliffe et al. (1980b) compared patrons of Alberta lounges who drank standing at a high table to those seated at low tables. This was a small pilot study. They found that solitary men stayed longer and drank more slowly if they were sitting. (There was no difference between men in groups.) The plausible explanation for this observed difference is that solitary men were less conspicuous when seated. We suggested earlier that self-consciousness is a factor motivating solitary drinkers to leave after a shorter period in the tavern than non-solitary drinkers. It may also account for the tendency to drink more rapidly. The Alberta results are consistent with this in showing the difference even within the class of solitary drinkers.

In taverns which serve as social centres, where a large portion of patrons are regulars and familiar with each other, constraints which operate on groups like those already discussed are weakened. Movement can occur more freely from one temporary subgroup to another, and cross any boundaries that tend to be established by purely physical arrangements. Such taverns really belong somewhere on a continuum, towards the club and the private party and away from the large downtown lounge or beer parlour. The easy sociability of regulars and staff will exercise its own control over other patrons by signaling the status of the tavern as a home territory.

Party sociability is distinguishable from other varieties by the degree of animation, high spirits, and excitement. Alcohol clearly contributes to the development of party conditions but is not sufficient. (The signs of party sociability are not simply the signs of alcohol intoxication.) Larger numbers of people and ambient noise facilitate party conditions; social distance and unfamiliarity inhibit them. Once the conditions are created, they are self-sustaining. Non-party events can evolve into parties if these factors spontaneously come together. Three drinks is a rough estimate of the critical level of alcohol, given the other conditions, for the conversion of an afterwork drinking session into an extended party. Spontaneous parties most readily develop in a club, or in the social-centre type of tavern. The process by which party conditions arise from non-party events is one of the mediators of the commonly reported relationship in taverns between the size of a group and the length of the drinking occasion.

The natural tendency for parties, once the conditions are generated, is to continue, even against other considerations. The classic cocktail party - i.e. a large gathering in a private place by invitation, scheduled for from 4 to 6, 5 to 7, or 6 to 8 - is an anomaly in this respect. It provides all the ingredients for a self-sustaining party, and then requires the participants to leave, with several hours of leisure remaining, or to violate the terms of the invitation (which many do).

Most heavy drinking events are associated with party conditions and take place in larger groups with friends or regular associates. The drinking and the sociability is party style. In taverns the groups are likely to be gathered by prearrangement, using the tavern as a location for a party in a public place. Like parties in private homes, the events are largely confined to weekend evenings. However, compared to private parties, there are constraints on space that tend to limit the size of groups (and thus inhibit the development of party

conditions). There is a limit on the duration of the event imposed by tavern closing hours. There are constraints on the activities of groups in taverns that dampen the party atmosphere, such as rules against moving about with drinks (at least in many Canadian jurisdictions). A group in a tavern may develop a party in a public place, but it is still a public place with certain conventions to be observed, and, if not observed, enforced.

There are also subjective constraints on social movement within the group imposed by the initial seating arrangements which limit the combinations that can compose conversational subgroups. The same constraints operate at private parties but the greater mobility permitted by the private location reduces their effect as the size of the party increases. Up to an upper limit of about six, groups tend to operate as a single social and conversational unit; above that limit, to 12 or 15, they form several subgroups but movement from one to another is limited by a tendency to maintain the same position in the seating arrangement. To choose a different seat risks implying rejection of, or boredom with, the original partners. As the size of the party increases above 15 persons, several physically separate groups form and shifting membership and groups take place. This process of change is partly the result of physical factors - the number and arrangement of chairs; partly, the change in the role of hosts, as it becomes impossible to attend to each guest's drinks and movement to and from the liquor supply takes place; largely, the dynamics of conversation-turn-taking, attending, changing topics and so on. Freedom of movement increases as drinking goes on, and increases the attractiveness (the success) of the occasion, since the conversational resources and opportunities for self-expression and display are greater in shifting combinations. Although the same processes go on at party-like occasions in taverns, the constraints are much greater. The gyrations of large and growing groups in taverns joining tables and shifting chairs is a manifestation of this. Therefore, the larger the friendship group, the more satisfactory the private party compared to the tavern party. The larger the friendship group, the more possible locations for private parties, and the greater the possibility of spreading the costs and effort of hosting them. In large groups of friends, a system of exchange of parties develops. The bring-your-own party and the custom of contributing liquor whether or not explicitly specified are adaptations to the potentially high cost of hosting large numbers which partly help to maintain the system. The custom of combining tavern visits followed by drinking at home is another way of compromising the advantages of both locations for party purposes.

The social advantage of private parties increases with the size of the friendship group, but so does the burden assumed by the members hosting them. Apartment dwellers, single people, young couples with children and small houses, people with lower incomes, are less able to give parties, and more likely to be forced to use public taverns for party sociability. This is the majority of the population. However unsatisfactory the tavern for party purposes, much party sociability is likely to take place there.

Where the location and customs have made a particular tavern the social centre for a community of similar and like-minded people, familiar to each other by common residential neighbourhood, work-place, or membership in ethnic, occupational, religious, or recreational associations, that tavern may have all the advantages of the home for party purposes, none of the disadvantages, and some special advantages of its own. Its major special advantage is that no special

planning or arrangements are necessary. If a person can count on there being a fair number of friends, or at least familiars, present, the makings of a party are always at hand, at least at those times when people in general party, on weekend evenings or holidays. Furthermore, the gathering is relatively large, and therefore the circumstances for achieving party conditions more favorable. Conversely, if party conditions are not achieved, it is less conspicuous and less awkward to leave early.

Any private party or deliberate gathering for party purposes in a tavern imposes an obligation to enjoy the occasion or pretend to. Early leaving violates that obligation and requires an excuse which is at least superficially convincing. Similarly, there is an obligation on all at a party occasion to contribute to the creation of party conditions. The obligation falls most heavily on the host at a private party, the organizer of a tavern party, or in general, in proportion to the degree of responsibility for the occasion, but is shared to some extent by all. That obligation and the risk of failing to live up to it is an inhibiting factor in the generation of parties, but is much less of a factor in the social centre tavern.

The tavern which, by virtue of its location and its customary patronage, becomes a social centre for a community represents one point on a continuum of drinking settings. One way to conceive the underlying dimension is relative openness of access, where access may be formally restricted - as by invitation to a private party or membership in a club - or be limited informally by the subjective feeling of exclusion, reinforced deliberately or not by the behaviour of regulars and tavern employees. The more open end of the continuum is represented by large beer parlours in city centre areas like those we observed in Vancouver. The less open settings, given enough attendance, are more conducive to party sociability and, therefore, to heavy drinking for those who have access.

These remarks were intended to provide a bridge between Eric Single's summary of the literature on taverns and the papers that follow, which deal with more specific aspects of tavern drinking. Most of these papers report some hard data relevant to the generalizations we have made. Our impression is that there are more consistencies than contradictions between our observations and the data which exist. It is very clear that in many areas - particularly those that involve links between policy-related variables and behavioural variables - considerable research will be required before we have a firm basis for generalizations which have clear policy implications.

One of the major gaps in our knowledge is not in the area of public drinking, but in the major alternative to public drinking - drinking at home. We have tried to make a case that drinking at home is relevant to policy towards public drinking because policy decisions can influence the portion of total consumption that takes place at home, the portion of heavy-drinking that takes place at home, and the portion of all group drinking occasions which take place at home. There seems very little in the way of good evidence to suggest whether the heavy-drinking associated with private parties has more or fewer negative consequences associated with it than heavy-drinking in taverns, or whether it simply makes no significant difference. Plausible arguments can be made either way.

We have devoted a substantial portion of our paper to the general notion of sociability, and to comparisons of the forms and properties of sociability in

public and private places. The empirical basis for these remarks in particular is shaky. Nevertheless, some beginning must be made, and we hope that researchers will direct some of their attention to supplying data on the less accessible phenomena of private parties, and the nature of drinking occasions in general, while the investigation of public drinking continues, building on what this conference suggests is a rapidly expanding base.

In summary, we argue that the major function of taverns is sociability. Taverns provide a location for sociability and conditions which more or less effectively facilitate it. Sociability takes several forms which flourish under somewhat different conditions. Other institutions serve similar functions. The availability and suitability of taverns compared to alternative settings influence the frequency and nature of tavern patronage. The young and the single - because their alternatives are fewer, because their purpose less readily met in private settings, and because the competing demands of family are less - are disproportionately represented in taverns. The purposes of a drinking occasion influences its duration; so does the success of the occasion in creating a party spirit. Both are reflected in or affected by the size of the drinking group. The total drinking reflects the length of the occasion more than any other variable.

Sociability itself has important social and psychological functions. It strengthens the solidarity of groups, community feeling and the sense of identity of individuals. It is the medium for communication of information which has serious consequences for individuals and groups.

These social functions of taverns are desirable. Can they be facilitated without increasing the incidence of heavy-drinking occasions and untoward events associated with such occasions? Evidence relevant to these questions should be a goal of researchers. Control agencies should recognize the need for evidence and use it when it is available.

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ALCOHOL USE IN VARIOUS SETTINGS

Walter B. Clark*

Introduction

The purpose of this presentation is to provide quantitative data on the relative "wetness" of various common drinking situations and to suggest that even among heavier drinkers situational constraints may work an effect on amounts typically drunk in one setting as compared to another. Conversely, lighter drinkers commonly report drinking sizeable quantities of alcohol while in such settings as bars and while at parties. Thus, drinking patterns are not solely the quirks of individuals carried to all settings, but are the result of interactions among situational effects and individual variation. This is hardly surprising, but the quantitative demonstration of the magnitude of variations in drinking across settings is a necessary piece in the explanation of alcohol use in the population.

The data reported here are from a 1979 survey of U.S. adults aged 18 years or older who were living within the 48 contiguous states. Area probability sampling techniques were used, and approximately 70 percent of potential respondents were interviewed. Full details are contained in Clark, Midanik and Knupfer (1981).

The entirety of the hour-long interviews was devoted to questions about alcohol use, alcohol problems and their correlates. Of interest here, however, are a series of questions about various settings in which alcohol is commonplace in our society -- bars, parties, restaurants, and quiet evenings at home are among the places and events asked about (see Exhibits 1 and 2). Respondents were asked to indicate how often they went to such places and events, what

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* Alcohol Research Group, Institute of Epidemiology and Behavioral Medicine, Medical Research Institute of San Francisco, California.

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proportion of the time they drank while in each setting, and the typical number of drinks, if any, they consumed while there. These data enable us to describe in a rough way who goes where and how much alcohol is consumed in each setting. We can also describe the relationship between overall consumption of alcoholic beverages and consumption patterns in the various settings asked about.

The data have limitations which must be kept in mind. First, the fourteen drinking situations we asked about do not exhaust the possibilities, and thus do not account for all alcohol use. Second, the situations are not necessarily mutually exclusive in this list; some respondents may have had the same events in mind in answering the two questions on drinking in bars, for instance. Finally, the questions ask about the typical amounts drunk in the various situations, and thus do not describe the larger amounts that may be drunk on occasion in these settings.

Relevant Literature on Drinking Settings

Survey studies in the 1960s provided the first quantitative description of the places people in the general population drink alcoholic beverages. The relative importance of one's own home as the site of drinking was illustrated by these data. Knupfer et al. (1963) found that among adults in Berkeley, California, nearly two-thirds of drinkers reported that they "most often" drank wine or beer at home. Over 40 percent said they most often drank distilled beverages at home also -- the choice being between home, friends' homes, or restaurants and bars. The proportions were not constant across the population: relatively more heavier than lighter drinkers "most often" drink at home; more men than women drink most often at home; more older than younger people "most often" drink at home. However, reports of this sort do not tell us much about the context of drinking, merely its location.

When asked with whom they "most often" drank, the pattern of responses was again very clear: drinking "most often" in the company of friends was the common response when the choice was between drinking with friends, family members, or while alone.

Cahalan, Cisin and Crossley (1969) reported on a survey study of the adult population in the U.S. They found that "who drinks what where" was very similar to the patterns described above. Again the relative frequency of drinking at home was great when the choice was limited to one's own home, or friends' homes, or restaurants or bars. Clark's (1977) reanalysis of the national survey data shows this clearly: substantially larger proportions of respondents reported that they most often drink at home than either at friends' homes or while at restaurants and bars. This was true for males and for females, for young and for old, for higher and lower social statuses, for all regions of the U.S., for rural and urban areas, for all religious groups, and for all ethnic groups. As in the earlier data from the Berkeley study, drinking alone was relatively rare in comparison to drinking in the company of friends. Slightly higher proportions of heavier drinkers than lighter drinkers reported drinking when alone, but drinking with others was still the most common response to the questions asked.

A second common area of investigation in these early surveys concerned the settings where "heavier than usual" drinking took place. The questions

contained that phrase, "heavier than usual", but no quantitative data on actual amounts drunk were obtained. Again it was found by Knupfer et al. (1963) that sociability played a part; parties and celebrations were often mentioned as occasions for "drinking more than usual". It was only among older, unmarried males that parties and celebrations were relatively infrequently mentioned as the places for "drinking more than usual", and this is not a group which contains a large proportion of heavy drinkers.

In retrospect, it seems unfortunate that the questions about the places of drinking were not answered in terms of actual frequencies of going to the various settings instead of answer categories of "often", "sometimes", "rarely", or "never". Similarly, answers such as "drink more than usual" in this or that setting are less useful for present purposes than the actual amounts usually taken in each setting would be. In fact, these surveys obtained no measure of amount of drinking in any situation, relying instead on the overall measure of amounts of drinking over the past year. Had the actual amounts per setting been obtained, researchers would long since have quantified the relationships between settings and amount of drinking, relationships that can only be seen indirectly in these data.

Two early survey studies of the U.S. population also asked about the frequency of going to bars and taverns. The first of these was the San Francisco study of 1962 discussed above; the second, a (1969) probability sample of the household population of males aged 21 through 59 years living within the 48 contiguous states. Neither of these two studies asked about consumption of alcoholic beverages within particular settings (such as bars), but both contain measures of overall consumption.

Even the most casual observation would suggest that bars are more the territory of men than of women in our society. Clark's (1981) review of the literature on taverns since 1935 suggests that this is generally true, since the same finding was reported for a dozen non-American sites as well. (However, there are also some indications that some kinds of public drinking establishments may contain nearly equal numbers of both sexes; Murray's 1978 study in Manitoba suggests this possibility.) Certainly it is true in the survey data from San Francisco, and for the U.S. as a whole, that relatively more males than females are frequent tavern patrons. For instance, in the 1962 survey of San Francisco, 58 percent of young, unmarried men reported going to bars at least as often as once a week. However, we also see in those data that young single women are next best represented among tavern patrons, although the difference between this proportion and that of slightly older males, and married young males, is not statistically significant. For both sexes, age and being married are negatively related to frequency of tavern patronage. Other variables related to frequency of tavern patronage in that 1962 study include amount of income and level of education. However, these relationships are not strong, and it is only the lowest income category that is less well represented among tavern patrons.

The relationship of greatest interest for present purposes is, of course, the correlation of frequency of going to bars and the amount of drinking, the latter being a measure of respondents' total drinking, not just drinking in bars. In the San Francisco study, two-thirds of heavier drinkers reported patronizing a tavern at least as often as once a week. Only about five percent of infrequent drinkers go to taverns that often. Intermediate categories of amount of drinking fall

quite regularly between these limits. The same strong relationship between tavern patronage and amount of drinking holds for females, although the absolute figures for both variables are somewhat less than for men. However, as discussed elsewhere (Clark, 1966), small numbers of abstainers are also tavern patrons; female abstainers over the age of 40 being the only group considered in which there were almost no tavern patrons.

The 1969 national sample (which includes only men aged 21-59 years) contains data that indicate that the same relationship between tavern patronage and amount of drinking may hold for the U.S. population as well. Again, the relationship was strong and regular (r=0.47). In that study, respondents were also asked about the frequency of getting "high or tight" (as they defined that condition). Nearly two-thirds of those who reported getting at least slightly intoxicated once a week or more often also reported going to taverns once a week or more often. The product-moment correlation coefficient between the two variables is 0.37. However, 11 percent of those who reported no intoxication in the past three years also reported that they went to taverns at least once a week, and it is clear that tavern patronage does not imply drunkenness, even though drunkenness in taverns is common.

In reviewing the few other survey studies on U.S. populations, Clark (1981) found no instance in which there was either no correlation or a negative correlation between tavern patronage and amount of drinking. As noted above, however, there are no survey studies that investigated the relationship of amount of drinking within taverns to overall consumption. Given the fact that bars and taverns are often blamed for excessive drinking in popular literature, it is somewhat surprising that this is as yet unstudied.

In summary, we may note that the same characteristics of being young, single and unmarried which "predict" tavern patronage are also those which "predict" frequent heavier drinking as well. It is true that women are less than well represented in taverns, but among the group of women who do report fairly frequent tavern patronage are many who also report higher levels of alcohol consumption.

In this paper, as elsewhere, bars and taverns have been given more than their proper share of attention as compared to other sites of drinking. This attention may be due to the reputation of public drinking places as troublesome, and perhaps also because, being public, they are easily studied. A tradition of studies quite different from the surveys has paid considerable attention to bars. The diversity of bars and taverns is striking, and yet for obvious reasons the surveys treat them as all alike. The observational (or anthropological) studies instead emphasize the diversity of bars, and focus attention on the social processes which reflect "bar culture". Some of the often-mentioned observations are worth noting here.

Survey studies have made it clear that public drinking places are frequented by heavier drinkers, and there is some reason to believe that even lighter drinkers drink somewhat more in bars as compared to most other places. The observational studies suggest some mechanisms that may bring this about (see Clark, 1981, for a detailed review of these studies). Whatever the differences among the many places studied, one common feature is mentioned by all: bars sell beverages, but provide sociable interaction. In general, any patron is

entitled to use the facilities of the establishment and to engage in small talk with other patrons much more freely than is possible in most other settings. This, combined with the elements of bar culture which encourage drinking along with others, buying drinks for others, accepting drinks bought by others, etc., may insure that the number of drinks consumed by patrons is increased over other settings. That is, factors of sociable interaction which increase consumption are given full play in bar settings, and given that heavier drinkers are well-represented in bars, there are probably few counter pressures to work against these. Many of the observational studies also suggest that bars are settings in which intoxication is tolerated more than would be the case in many other settings.

Some examples may be useful: several observational studies have suggested that there is a "natural rate of drinking" which is about three drinks per hour (although data also suggest that there are factors which can increase this rate). Cutler and Storm's (1975) observational study of rates of drinking found that time spent in the bar was strongly correlated with the total amount drunk there (r=.81). They also reported that the amount of time spent in the bar was moderately related (r=.34) to the number of persons drinking together. The last finding, however, was not confirmed by another study (Kessler and Gomberg, 1974) where group size was not related to time spent in the bar. Harford (1975) and Rosenbluth et al. (1978) present data that suggest that while group size is related to amount of drinking, other factors such as the mix of sexes may influence the result. Many studies suggest that those drinking together influence each other's drinking, and the usual direction of influence is toward more drinking. Drinks are often bought in rounds, reciprocity is expected, and a "good bartender" is one who does not keep patrons waiting over their empty glasses.

Researchers in the Behavioural tradition have added some interesting data on mutual influences among drinkers. Caudill and Marlatt (1975) found in a simulated bar study that drinkers exposed to a planted "high-drinking amount model" tended to drink more and to take larger sips than those who had a low drinking model to influence them. Reid (1978) in another quasi-experimental study found that placing a fast-drinking, friendly "model" next to a bar patron could increase the patron's rate of drinking. Thus these and other studies suggest that there are "natural drinking rates", but also suggest that these rates can be influenced by various factors. The bar seems to contain a good measure of people who drink comparatively heavily anyway, and the setting is one which may encourage this even among those who do not drink heavily elsewhere. It would be of great value to have detailed information on other drinking settings such as that which is available on bars and taverns. However, we don't, and while we may wonder whether the social mechanisms that seem to exist in the bar can be found elsewhere, we can present no hard evidence either way.

There is another approach to the study of contexts of drinking which is represented in the works of Harford and Gerstel and their colleagues (Harford et al., 1980; Harford, 1978a; 1978b; Harford, 1976; Gerstel et al., 1975). The great advantage of this approach is that all the drinking "events" attended by respondents are accounted for, thus permitting an analysis of the relative frequency of drinking situations. The sample is representative of the adult population of the Boston Metropolitan Area, and each respondent in the survey is asked to describe all of his alcohol use for a period of one or more weeks preceding the interview. They are also asked to describe each drinking "event"

or situation in which drinks were taken. The events are then coded into categories such as public places (restaurants and bars) vs. private places (one's home or others' homes), the number of others present and whether they are friends or relatives, the duration of the event, the day of the week, etc.

Harford makes the point that data such as these are not suitable for an analysis of the possible effects of various settings on individual drinking patterns since the same respondents may not have attended all the same kinds of events, or even any two kinds. Further, respondents are not assigned to events, and they do not come empty-handed to any event, but carry with them expectations, intents and views of what is appropriate in the settings they do enter into. The data are suitable for an "ecological analysis" of what events take place within the time period studied, what kinds of people attend the events, and the mean amounts of alcohol taken in each. Thus Harford's (1976) study showed that in this Boston sample, relatively more older than younger drinkers drank in private places rather than bars and restaurants, drank with meals rather than at parties, drank with fewer companions, drank with family members rather than friends, and drank on occasions that did not last as long on the average as those reported by younger drinkers. On the average, older respondents reported consuming less alcohol than did the younger people. Harford et al.'s (1978a) analysis compared men and women in this same sample. They found that relatively more women than men were weekend drinkers, drank in restaurants rather than in bars, drank at others' homes rather than their own homes, and drank only at mealtimes and at parties. Men, Harford et al. reported, drank in a greater diversity of settings, and thus a lesser proportion of men than women reported drinking in each setting.

These data fit well with what has been reported by other survey studies, and they are a step toward explaining the differences in drinking patterns of older respondents as compared to younger, and men as compared to women, in terms of the settings in which drinking takes place.

In yet another analysis, Harford (1978b) found that the number of others present at an occasion was positively correlated with amounts drunk. However, those data are complex indeed, and the relationship is not straightforward, but an interaction of number of participants and characteristics (such as sex) of respondents.

One final point from this group of studies is of central importance here. While the men of the sample do indeed drink more than the women in various settings, there is also a great deal of similarity in the patterns of the sexes across situations. That is, for both sexes, average consumption "increases on weekends, in bars, with friends, at parties and as a function of duration" (1978a: 294).

Thus Harford was led to expect that alcohol intake could be related to the kinds of social activities attended by respondents, and the frequency of attendance. A further analysis (Harford et al., 1980) confirmed this expectation very well. Indices of various social activities (kinds of social activities and frequency of attending) were analyzed in connection with amount of alcohol consumed per day. Not surprisingly, significant relationships were found; but so strong are the relationships of amount of drinking to going to parties and to bars that, controlling for the effects of these social activities, age differences in amount

of drinking are no longer significant in these data. Thus Harford et al. found that much of the diversity in drinking can be linked to the division of the population into subgroups who attend various drinking situations, and to the frequency with which they do so.

The 1979 Survey Data

All drinkers in the 1979 survey reported on here were asked a series of questions about the frequency with which they go to 14 events or places where drinking is common. Data were also obtained on the frequency of drinking in each of the settings. Finally, those who report they do go to a given place, and do sometimes drink there, were asked about the "typical" number of drinks taken during that activity. The pages containing those questions are reproduced here, and it will be seen that they contain questions on a diversity of settings, although there is no reason to believe that the list is exhaustive.

Table 1 contains the data on the proportions of drinkers who ever go to the various settings asked about, the proportions who sometimes drink while there or who report that they almost always drink while there. The last three items ask about quite common events; nearly all respondents of both sexes report that they sometimes spend quiet evenings at home, watch television, and "have friends drop over and visit in your home". There is no difference between the sexes in the proportions reporting these activities (data not shown indicate that the sexes differ very slightly in the frequency of having friends drop in -- it is somewhat more common among women to have such visits. Slightly more women than men also report high frequencies of spending a quiet evening at home. There is no difference between the sexes with respect to watching T.V.) These figures are based on the total number of drinkers in the sample -- that is, the people who have reported having any drink containing alcohol during the past 12 months.

For each sex separately, the two right-hand columns in Table 1 show the percents of those who do report going to each situation who also report that they drink there. The first column indicates the percent who ever drink in the given situation; the second column shows the proportion who say they do so "all or almost all the time". In a way, these figures represent the relative "wetness" of these settings as far as alcohol use is concerned. It is clear that for both sexes, having friends drop in involves drinking relatively more often than is the case for the other two situations. However, relatively low proportions of respondents report that they almost always have a drink in any of the three situations. As for differences between the sexes, relatively more men than women report any drinking in these three situations and relatively more men than women report that they almost always drink (significant at the .05 level).

Another item (j in Table 1) has to do with outdoor activities such as picnics, trips to the beach, etc. Nearly 80 percent of both men and women report that they sometimes do such things. However, the relative "wetness" of such events does differ between the sexes both in terms of the percents reporting that they sometimes drink at such events and in the proportion reporting that they almost always do. Contrast these findings with those for attending movies, concerts, plays and the like (item d). The latter are also quite common events, nearly as common in both sexes as were the reports of going to picnics and the like. However, movies, etc., are obviously less often activities

that involve alcohol use. Fully 63 percent of males in the sample reported that they had alcoholic drinks at least sometimes when at picnics and the like; only about 30 percent of males indicated that they ever drink in connection with movies, concerts or plays. Among females, the differences between the wetness of the activities are parallel to that for males -- about half as many ever drink at movies, etc., as at least sometimes have a drink on picnics and other such outings. Again the sex differences in item d are significant, with relatively more males than females reporting they sometimes drink.

Two items in the list (h and i) have to do with sporting events, the first asking about watching sports, the second about participating. For both sexes, but for relatively more males than females, watching such activities is more common than participating in them. For both sexes, participating in sporting events is "dryer" than watching them if the proportions who report ever drinking at such events is the criterion.

Drinking with meals has often been suggested as relatively low-risk drinking, perhaps partly because drinking with food delays absorption, and partly because it is thought that the social settings of restaurants do not encourage heavy consumption. The first two items in the list provide some data on these matters: Quite high proportions of both sexes report that they do sometimes go out to restaurants for evening meals. Interestingly, a significantly greater percent of women than men report they sometimes go to a restaurant. Of those who do go, the proportions of both sexes who sometimes drink there is very high, and does not differ between men and women. As one might expect, having lunch out is less common than dining out in the evening; again, it is somewhat surprising to note that this activity is more common among women than men. Relatively more men than women report that they sometimes drink at lunch, but the proportions of both sexes who say they almost always do so is quite low and about equally so. Having dinner out, then, is relatively "wet" compared to the at-home activities.

Going to parties and to bars have often been suggested as activities that involve heavier drinking than other settings. As can be seen in these national survey data, tavern patrons are relatively less numerous than party-goers in the U.S. population. Interestingly, the sexes do not differ in the proportions reporting that they ever go to parties, but data not shown indicate that giving parties in one's own home is slightly more frequent among women than men in this sample -- which Harford's (1980) data also suggested was true in the Boston sample. As far as drinking is concerned, very large proportions of both sexes who report ever going to parties also report that they sometimes drink there. In both parties out and parties home, there is a significant tendency for more males than females to report that they sometimes drink or that they almost always do so. Parties are thus among the wettest of situations among those considered here.

EXHIBIT 1. QUESTION TO MEASURE DRINKING LOCALES

Q. 48. Now we'd like to ask you some questions about different kinds of social activities. For each activity I read, please tell me about how often you do that. (The answer categories are on the left-hand side of the card.) First, how often do you... (READ EACH ITEM)

	Never	Sometimes, but Less Than Once a Month	1 - 2 Times a Month	3 - 4 Times a Month	Once a Week or More	Not Sure
a. Go out for an evening meal in a restaurant (not including fast food places and luncheonettes)	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Go out for lunch in a restaurant (not including fast food places and luncheonettes)	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Go to club or organizational meetings	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. Go to movies, concerts, or plays	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. Go to bars, taverns, or cocktail lounges	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. Give a party in your home	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. Go to a party in someone else's home	1	2	3	4	5	6
h. Go to watch a sports event	1	2	3	4	5	6
i. Participate in individual or team sports	1	2	3	4	5	6
j. Go on a picnic, to the beach, or other outdoor activity	1	2	3	4	5	6
k. Stop at a bar, tavern or cocktail lounge on the way home from work with some people	1	2	3	4	5	6
l. Spend a quiet evening at home	1	2	3	4	5	6
m. Watch television	1	2	3	4	5	6
n. Have friends drop over and visit in your home	1	2	3	4	5	6

EXHIBIT 2. QUESTION TO MEASURE FREQUENCY OF DRINKING RELATED TO VARIOUS ACTIVITI

ASK CURRENT DRINKERS

For each activity respondent gives any answer except "Never" on Q. 48, ask:

Q. 49. Now thinking of (READ ITEM). When you take part in that activity, how often do you have a drink --never, less than ½ the time, about ½ the time, more than ½ the time, all or almost all the time? (The answer categories are on the right-hand side of the card.)

	Q. 49						Q. 50	
	Never	Less Than ½ the Time	About ½ the Time	More Than ½ the Time	All or Almost All the Time	Not Sure	Number of Drinks	Not Sure
a. Go out for an evening meal in a restaurant (not including fast food places and luncheonettes)	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
b. Go out for lunch in a restaurant (not including fast food places and luncheonettes)	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
c. Go to club or organizational meetings	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
d. Go to movies, concerts, or plays	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
e. Go to bars, taverns, or cocktail lounges	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
f. Give a party in your home	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
g. Go to a party in someone else's home	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
h. Go to watch a sports event	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
i. Participate in individual or team sports	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
j. Go on a picnic, to the beach, or other outdoor activity	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
k. Stop at a bar, tavern or cocktail lounge on the way home from work with some people	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
l. Spend a quiet evening at home	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
m. Watch television	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	
n. Have friends drop over and visit in your home	1	2	3	4	5	6	_____	

If respondent ever drinks during that activity on Q. 49, ask:

Q. 50. Still thinking of (READ ITEM). When you do drink, how many drinks do you typically have during that activity? __________

Table 1

Frequencies of Going to Various Settings, and Frequencies of Drinking There by Sex (in Percents)

	Men					Women				
	Ever go to setting...		Ever drink there...		All or almost all the time drink when there	Ever go to setting...		Ever drink there...		All or almost all the time drink when there
	n*	%	n	%	%	n	%	n	%	%
a. Go out for an evening meal in a restaurant (not including fast food places and luncheonettes)	560	86% **	490	73%	27%	605	92% **	562	72%	25%
b. Go out for lunch in a restaurant (not including fast food places and luncheonettes)	561	60% **	350	37%**	6%	605	69% **	414	29% **	4%
c. Go to club or organizational meetings	560	38%	222	47%**	17% **	605	41%	256	32% **	10% **
d. Go to movies, concerts or plays	562	70%	391	30%*	4%	605	73%	455	22% **	2%
e. Go to bars, taverns, or cocktail lounges . . .	560	54% **	312	96%	76% **	604	43% **	275	96%	69% **
f. Give a party in your home	555	54%	295	91%**	52%	605	58%	346	81% **	45%
g. Go to a party in someone else's home . .	558	75%	411	93%**	47% **	605	78%	468	83% **	37% **
h. Go to watch a sports event	557	63% **	338	44%**	13% **	602	49% **	295	28% **	2% **
i. Participate in individual or team sports	559	47% **	261	37%**	8%	605	34% **	210	20% **	4%
j. Go on a picnic, to the beach, or other outdoor activity	561	78%	429	63%**	19% **	606	78%	486	40% **	4% **
k. Stop at a bar, tavern, or cocktail lounge on the way home from work with some people	558	24% **	139	99%	74% **	606	11% **	80	99%	55% **
l. Spend a quiet evening at home	559	98%	549	55%**	11%	603	99%	597	39% **	6%
m. Watch television . . .	559	95%	529	46%**	10% **	604	97%	581	27% **	4% **
n. Have friends drop over and visit in your home .	559	93%	522	71%**	13% **	604	95%	566	57% **	8% **

* The percents are weighted figures; the n's shown are the actual number of cases. The percents for "ever drink there" and "always drink there" are based on the numbers who do go to each situation. Slight variations are due to non-response, etc.

** Difference between the sexes in the two comparable cells are significant at the .05 level.

Finally, going to bars was inquired into with two questions in this series. In retrospect, it would have been better to have dealt with these questions in a way that would have eliminated the possible overlap in the answers; but at the time it was thought that only a miniscule number of respondents would say that they sometimes drink at a bar on the way home from work. Table 1 indicates that nearly a quarter of men do so, and that 11 percent of women drinkers do so -- far greater numbers than expected. Among drinkers who go to bars on the way home, almost all of both sexes report that they sometimes drink there. Nearly three-quarters of men drinkers and over half of women drinkers report that they almost always have a drink when in that situation (the difference between the sexes again is significant).

The more general question on bar patronage (item e) found that 54 percent of men drinkers and 43 percent of women drinkers do sometimes go to bars, taverns, or cocktail lounges. The San Francisco study referred to above (Clark, 1966) found about ten percent more tavern patrons among male drinkers than was found in these data for the U.S. population; the figures for women tavern patrons are about equal in the two studies. As would be expected, those who go to bars are very likely to drink there, but the figures also suggest that about four percent of both sexes never drink in these places, even though they do go there, and quite substantial proportions of drinkers -- 24 percent of men and 31 percent of women -- indicate that they do not always have a drink when in a bar or tavern.

There is little that is surprising in these data unless it is the proportion reporting that they sometimes go to bars on the way home from work. As expected by any observer of the U.S., bars and parties are the wettest of the occasions asked about. The quantification of these matters, however, adds to our knowledge of common understandings that surround drinking in various settings in U.S. society. The very striking differences between the settings in the numbers of respondents who ever drink there suggest that normative influences, while flexible, do have effects. Note that the comparisons between the sexes in this dimension suggest that the rank ordering of the wetness of situations is much alike for the sexes, but in every case where there is a difference in the proportions of drinkers saying they sometimes have a drink in a given setting, or that they almost always do, it is among male drinkers that the higher proportion is found. One final point may be worth noting; going out to restaurants for dinner, and to lunch as well, are reported by more women than men drinkers -- the only settings where significantly more women than men go to a setting asked about in this series of questions. Given that bars and taverns are not equally open to both sexes, one might wonder whether the restaurant provides for women some of the functions that the bar provides for male drinkers.

Those who reported going to any of the 14 situations, and who also said they sometimes had something to drink there were also asked the "typical" number of drinks taken while in that situation. Thus we are able to compare the typical drinking amounts that are given for each situation. Table 2 contains those data. As one might expect, bars and parties are the places where, among those who ever drink there, the largest typical amounts are drunk. This is true for men as for women, although the differences between the sexes in the mean amounts drunk per event in a given setting can also be seen in these data.

TABLE 2

AMONG DRINKERS WHO REPORT GOING TO EACH, MEAN NUMBER OF DRINKS PER OCCASION IN VARIOUS SETTINGS BY SEX

			Men		Women	
	n*	x	n	x	n	x
a. Go out for an evening meal in a restaurant (not including fast food places and luncheonettes)	741	1.57	347	1.68	394	1.46
b. Go out for lunch in a restaurant (not including fast food places and luncheonettes)	254	1.27	125	1.36	129	1.15
c. Go to club or organizational meetings	185	2.03	105	2.21	80	1.75
d. Go to movies, concerts or plays	204	2.08	106	2.42	98	1.60
e. Go to bars, taverns, or cocktail lounges	540	3.10	289	3.37	251	2.71
f. Give a party in your own home	531	3.02	260	3.63	271	2.35
g. Go to a party in someone else's home	751	2.91	368	3.47	383	2.36
h. Go to watch a sports event	221	2.21	143	2.49	78	1.59
i. Participate in individual or team sports	126	2.24	87	2.41	39	1.87
j. Go on a picnic, to the beach, or other outdoor activity	457	2.70	264	3.12	193	1.97
k. Stop at a bar, tavern, or cocktail lounge on the way home from work with some people	201	2.77	128	3.00	73	2.16
l. Spend a quiet evening at home	530	1.75	298	1.92	232	1.47
m. Watch television	387	1.83	236	1.98	151	1.53
n. Have friends drop over and visit in your home	689	1.89	365	2.08	324	1.62

* The means shown are weighted; n's are the actual numbers of respondents who report drinking in each situation.

Note one other interesting point in these data. In Table 1 we noted that bars and parties were the settings where the largest proportions of both sexes report that they sometimes had something to drink. In Table 2 we find that these are also the settings in which the greatest mean number of drinks are taken per occasion.

A further step can be taken to quantify the "social ecology" of drinking occasions. In question 48 the frequency of going to each event is asked about. The following values were assigned to each answer:

Never go to the situation referred to	0.00
Sometimes go, but less often than once a month	0.75
Go once or twice a month	1.50
Go three or four times a month	3.50
Go once a week or more often	4.00

Missing data and "not sure" answers are excluded from this measure which in a rough way represents the number of times per month respondents go to each of the activities and settings asked about.

For the answers to question 49, having to do with the proportion of the time respondents have a drink in a given setting, let the following values be given to each possible answer:

Never have a drink in that setting	0.00
Less than half the time	0.25
About half the time	0.50
More than half the time	0.75
All or almost all the time	1.00

The product of these two values multiplied by the typical number of drinks taken in each setting yields a rough approximation of the actual amounts drunk in each situation per month. Thus in Table 3 the means are the average number of drinks per month in a given setting among those who ever go, and who ever drink there. In contrast to the figures on the typical amounts taken per occasion (shown in Table 2), bars, taverns and cocktail lounges now are seen to be very important in the ecology of drinking settings, for not only are they sites of relatively heavy drinking among those who go to them, they are also frequently patronized. Contrast these figures on bars with those on parties. Parties were also found in Table 2 to be sites of relatively heavy drinking in comparison to other places, but they are relatively infrequent events as compared to the tavern which is always present and quite often patronized.

Since we cannot be sure that the questions were really answered in terms of mutually exclusive visits to settings, it is not proper to treat them as independent events in analysis. However, for illustrative purposes only, let us compute the sum of the reported numbers of drinks taken in each setting and all settings combined. The number of drinks per setting per month can be obtained by multiplying the number of respondents who drink in each setting by the mean number of drinks taken per month in that setting. The admittedly crude result may be seen in Table 3. There it may be seen that fully 18 percent of drinks reported were taken in bars, taverns and cocktail lounges. If one is inclined to

treat visits to bars and taverns on the way home from work as being separate events from those reported for bars in general, then another 5 percent of alcohol consumed was drunk in these places. Whatever the actual amount, the data clearly show that it is a relatively small proportion of the population who are the tavern patrons, and the large fraction of total drinks accounted for is due to the frequency of bar visits, and to relatively large amounts taken per visit.

Parties, it will be seen, account for approximately 17 percent of drinks per month in the U.S. population, dinner and lunch in restaurants account for another 11 percent, and the last three items referring to evenings at home, to watching TV and to having visitors together account for about 30 percent of all drinks taken "in the average month". For the latter three, of course, it is the large proportion of respondents who do such things, and the relative frequency with which they are done -- rather than drinks per occasion -- that results in the nearly one-third of the total drinks being consumed at home.

Keeping in mind that these data are not suited for estimates of overall consumption due to overlapping content among the questions asking about drinking in various situations, and due further to the questions on numbers of drinks taken being asked only for the "usual number", and not the frequencies of taking different numbers of drinks, the following may be mildly interesting. The mean number of drinks per drinker in all the 14 situations of drinking is approximately 15 drinks per month (15.03). This figure "accounts" for 52.5 percent of the number of drinks reported drunk in the 30 days preceding the interview by these same respondents. However, the 30-day Quantity-Frequency measure asked only about usual numbers of drinks taken on an occasion of drinking. A much more detailed series of questions ascertained respondents' drinking patterns over the 12 months preceding the interview; in this series the frequency of drinking all quantities of drinks per occasion -- not just the usual or typical number -- was obtained for all drinkers. This procedure results in a much larger number of drinks than does the 30-day Q.F. score based on "usual" amounts -- 44.6 mean drinks per drinker as opposed to 28.6 mean drinks per drinker for the 30-day Q.F. score. The mean number of drinks per drinker from the 14 questions on drinking situations (15.03) thus accounts for 34 percent of the drinks reported on the 12-month Q.F. score. Adjusting the U.S. per capita consumption figure of 58 drinks per month for all adults aged 14 years and older to conform with the figures here for drinkers only yields a per capita mean of 88.02 drinks per month per drinker (Alcohol and Health III). The mean number of drinks per month per drinker for the 14 drinking situations thus accounts for 17 percent of total alcohol sales for the U.S. (15.03/88.02 = 0.17).

There is one more comparison between the relative "wetness" of various drinking settings that is of interest here. We can classify respondents in terms of their overall drinking patterns, rather than just the amounts they report drinking in these 14 situations, and compare these quantity-frequency groups in terms of, first, the typical amounts they report drinking on one occasion in each of the settings and, second, in terms of the total amounts they report drinking in each setting per month. The latter, of course, is again the product of the frequency of going to each situation, the proportion of the time in which drinks are taken in each setting, and the typical number of drinks per such occasion.

TABLE 3

MEAN NUMBER OF DRINKS PER MONTH IN VARIOUS SETTINGS BY SEX

	Total Sample			Men		Women	
	n**	x	Percent of Total Drinks*	n**	x	n**	x
a. Go out for an evening meal in a restaurant (not including fast food places and luncheonettes)	741	2.14	9%	347	2.36	394	1.90
b. Go out for lunch in a restaurant (not including fast food places and luncheonettes)	254	1.34	2%	125	1.60	129	1.01
c. Go to club or organizational meetings	185	2.66	3%	105	2.98	80	2.21
d. Go to movies, concerts, or plays	204	2.02	2%	106	2.83	98	0.87
e. Go to bars, taverns, or cocktail lounges	540	6.15	18%	289	6.80	251	5.22
f. Give a party in your home . .	531	2.41	7%	260	2.95	271	1.80
g. Go to a party in someone else's home	751	2.47	10%	368	3.07	383	1.75
h. Go to watch a sports event .	221	2.49	3%	143	3.09	78	1.21
i. Participate in individual or team sports	126	3.57	3%	87	3.79	39	3.01
j. Go on a picnic, to the beach, or other outdoor activity . . .	457	2.79	7%	264	3.52	193	1.56
k. Stop at a bar, tavern, or cocktail lounge on the way home from work with some people	201	5.00	5%	128	5.77	73	3.17
l. Spend a quiet evening at home	530	3.64	11%	298	4.17	232	2.83
m. Watch television	387	3.92	9%	236	4.40	151	3.02
n. Have friends drop over and visit in your home	689	2.75	10%	365	3.13	324	2.25
			99% (54,896)				

* Total drinks equals sum of n x x for each setting.

** The means shown are weighted; n's are the actual numbers of respondents who report drinking in each situation.

The purpose of doing so is to describe the amount-of-drinking groups in terms of general patterns of alcohol use in the various settings asked about in this question series. It may be well to remember here that, strictly speaking, we are not comparing the behaviour of the same people in different settings, since we do not restrict our analysis to those who do go to all settings; rather, it is the settings together with the people in them taken as a unit that are being compared.

The categorization of amount of drinking to be used here is the Quantity-Frequency scale discussed elsewhere (see Clark et al., 1981). The scale is a rough approximation of the number of drinks per month per respondent taken over the 12 months preceding the interview. The scores take into account not only "usual amounts" of all alcoholic beverages drunk, but the total quantity taken, by summing all quantities reportedly drunk. The total score combined the use of wine, of beer, and of distilled beverages. Here the full-range score is divided into five categories as shown in Table 4 where the lowest Q.F. category contains those who drank less than 2 drinks per month over the past 12 months, the upper Q.F. category contains those who drank over 120 drinks per month, with other categories ranging between these extremes.

The first five columns of Table 4 contain the mean number of drinks reportedly taken by respondents on a typical occasion while in each setting. The five columns which divide the respondents into categories of their overall level of drinking is measured by the Quantity-Frequency Scale discussed above.

In column one are contained the responses of those who reportedly drank less than two drinks per month total over the past 12 months (Q.F. I). Note that these respondents report the familiar pattern of somewhat higher typical amounts of drinking while at bars and while at parties of their own or others. However, the typical amounts of drinks per occasion per situation for even bars and parties are relatively low. Column two contains the typical amounts per occasion in each of the 14 settings for those whose overall consumption over the past 12 months averaged between two and ten drinks per month (Q.F. II). Again the same pattern of reports of drinking more at bars and at parties is found, but the mean amounts are somewhat higher per occasion. Each higher Quantity-Frequency category repeats the pattern of the next lower fairly well, but the average amounts taken per occasion tend to be larger -- and the contrast between the lowest Q.F. category and the highest is striking. These patterns of variation in typical amounts across situations suggest the effects of the contexts on amount of drinking, while the variations in amounts drunk across the Q.F. categories of overall drinking patterns suggest the effects of "individualistic" factors which are carried by individuals from setting to setting.

The second five columns of Table 4 contain the drinks per month in each situation discussed above. That is, each mean in these five columns is the product of frequency of going to each situation, the proportion of the time alcohol is taken in each situation, and the typical number of drinks taken there. The columns again are the categories of the overall amount-of-drinking score.

TABLE 4: MEAN NUMBER OF DRINKS PER OCCASION IN VARIOUS SETTINGS AND MEAN NUMBER OF DRINKS PER MONTH IN VARIOUS SETTINGS BY OVERALL QUANTITY-FREQUENCY OF DRINKING

Quantity-Frequency Groups	Mean Number of Drinks Per Occasion in Various Settings					Mean Number of Drinks Per Month in Various Settings					
	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V	
	Approximate Number of Drinks Per Month					Approximate Number of Drinks Per Month					
	Less than 2	Between 2–10	Between 10–60	Between 60–120	Over 120	Less than 2	Between 2–10	Between 10–60	Between 60–120	Over 120	TOTAL
Mean Number of Drinks	x*	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
a. Go out for an evening meal in a restaurant (not including fast food places and luncheonettes)	1.13	1.39	1.63	1.85	2.04	0.79	1.29	2.33	3.41	3.60	760
b. Go out for lunch in a restaurant (not including fast food places and luncheonettes)	**(14)	1.20	1.21	1.15	1.71	**(14)	0.60	1.19	1.23	2.93	254
c. Go to club or organizational meetings	1.31	1.45	2.21	1.94	3.13	1.08	1.61	3.26	1.71	4.95	185
d. Go to movies, concerts or plays	1.14	1.80	1.78	1.99	3.16	0.85	0.92	1.36	1.36	4.86	204
e. Go to bars, taverns, or cocktail lounges	1.88	2.37	2.93	3.16	5.10	1.41	2.64	5.78	8.69	12.37	540
f. Give a party in your home . .	1.49	2.10	2.92	3.85	6.01	0.65	1.21	2.38	3.42	5.93	531
g. Go to a party in someone else's home	1.42	2.06	3.01	7.71	5.58	0.65	1.17	2.61	3.29	6.34	751
h. Go to watch a sports event .	**(10)	1.53	1.90	2.08	3.69	**(10)	1.26	1.56	3.08	5.46	221
i. Participate in individual or team sports	**(2)	1.35	2.31	2.60	2.90	**(2)	1.75	3.75	4.68	3.99	126
j. Go on a picnic, to the beach, or other outdoor activity . . .	1.41	1.74	2.39	2.60	5.30	0.50	1.28	2.22	2.73	7.18	457
k. Stop at a bar, tavern, or cocktail lounge on the way home from work with some people	**(7)	1.51	2.39	2.39	4.50	**(7)	0.77	3.37	3.86	11.58	201
l. Spend a quiet evening at home	1.08	1.38	1.48	1.94	3.21	1.22	1.65	2.37	4.65	10.45	530
m. Watch television	1.05	1.43	1.43	1.82	3.27	1.32	1.93	2.14	3.78	10.46	387
n. Have friends drop over and visit in your home	1.18	1.64	1.79	2.12	3.27	0.86	1.79	2.18	3.21	8.41	689

* The means shown are weighted; n's are the actual number of respondents who report drinking in each situation.

** Too few cases for analysis; figures in parentheses are the unweighted cases in that cell.

The clearest pattern in this comparison is between lighter and heavier Quantity-Frequency categories for each situation of drinking. We have seen above that heavier drinkers average somewhat larger amounts per visit to each setting as compared to lighter drinkers. In terms of the measure of number of drinks per month per setting, we see the same pattern, but the differences between lighter and heavier drinkers are even greater, and the differences increase fairly regularly from each Quantity-Frequency category to the next higher of the five. Thus we are led to believe that heavier drinkers not only drink more than their lighter drinking counterparts do while in each setting, but they also drink in all these settings somewhat more frequently. Among the lightest drinkers in the sample (Q.F. I), the mean number of drinks per occasion (column 1) usually exceeds the corresponding figure for the total number of drinks per month in that setting (column 6). Among the heaviest drinkers (Q.F. V), the reverse can be noted in comparing the means in column 5 to those in column 10. Note in this Q.F. group V that drinking in the home, as represented by the last three items in the list contributes much to the total number of drinks per month. As shown in column 5, home drinking tends to be in smaller amounts per occasion, but fairly frequent occasions. Parties tend to be occasions of heavier drinking for these (and other) respondents, but they are relatively infrequent events and thus do not bulk large in overall amounts of drinking. Bars (items e and k) tend for Q.F. V respondents to be both sites of heavier drinking and fairly frequently visited as well.

In summary, these data do add something to our knowledge of alcohol use by giving a rough quantitative view of the interrelations among drinking settings and overall amount of drinking. They suggest that overall amounts of alcohol consumed by individuals are strongly related to the number and kinds of drinking situations visited.

Behaviourists suggest -- and present evidence to back the suggestion --that elements of situations commonly found in bars and at parties can influence drinking toward heavier consumption. Symbolic Interactionists would stress the agreed-upon definitions of various situations as appropriate for more or less drinking. They would find important the variations in amounts of drinks taken in various settings --that most drinkers report drinking larger amounts in bars and at parties, and smaller amounts in restaurants and at home. This was as true for heavier drinkers as for lighter, although the absolute amounts reportedly drunk on typical occasions in each setting vary in the expected directions.

Other data suggest that people tend to associate with others whose alcohol consumption resembles their own (Clark, 1977). Both Behaviourists and Interactionists would find this observation in accord with their expectations.

The data presented here suggest further that the frequency of going to various drinking situations also is important, as this interacts with individual propensity to drink and with situational constraints to produce greater or lesser amounts of total alcohol intake. Thus more heavier drinkers than light report that they often go to relatively heavy drinking situations such as bars <u>and</u> heavier drinkers also average more drinks per occasion than their lighter drinking counterparts. Room (1977) once suggested that there are "worlds of heavy drinkers" who tend to associate with others like themselves, and who share knowledge and attitudes that encourage heavy consumption. There is at least nothing in the data here to contradict that notion.

Thus we argue that these data (like Harford's) contribute something to a study of the social ecology of drinking settings. However, at best these are only exploratory. As noted, the situations asked about do not exhaust the list of possible settings, and the fact that we obtained information only on "typical" drinking in various settings, and not on variations around the typical, may further restrict our insight into the ways in which settings and individuals interact. The greatest deficiency in these data may be inherent in the survey method itself. We can only ask about situations in very general terms, when we know that parties, for example, vary greatly in many ways that will influence behaviour. We would hope that observational studies in the future would obtain sufficient quantitative data to permit their being fitted into the broad but crude survey data descriptions of drinking situations. Future surveys could profitably obtain data on drinking situations in greater detail so that a taxonomy of, say, parties would be available to researchers of interaction.

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DETERMINANTS OF HEAVY DRINKING AND DRINKING PROBLEMS: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE BAR ENVIRONMENT

Kathryn Graham*

The study of heavy drinking and drinking problems has usually focussed on characteristics of the drinker and on the effects of alcohol rather than on environmental variables. Examples of such research include studies concerning the genetics of alcoholism, the personality of alcoholics, and motives for consumption.

The much smaller literature on environmental determinants of alcohol-related problems has mainly been concerned with general environmental variables such as cultural and family factors, socioeconomic status, marital status, religious affiliation, and geographic factors such as residing in an urban area (see Graham and Ekdahl, 1984). More contextual environmental variables, such as consumption patterns of friends and occupation-related pressures to drink have also received attention, but these reflect ongoing effects of friends and occupation rather than variations in specific drinking situations. Determinants of drinking behaviour in the drinking context itself have received much less attention. Yet it is these variables that may one day provide the key to causal linkages between variables of the general environment (such as SES) and alcohol-related problems, as well as indicate the developmental process of heavy drinking and other chronic drinking problems.

The existing literature on contextual (or situational) determinants of drinking behaviour includes both laboratory and naturalistic studies. The focus of these studies has been on the effects of situational determinants on immediate drinking behaviour (in particular, amount consumed and problem behaviour), and not on chronic drinking problems. At the present time, no relationship has been established between situational determinants of immediate drinking behaviour and the development of long-term drinking problems, although some aspects of bar-going and barworker behaviour have been identified by alcoholics as having influenced their ongoing drinking behaviour (Clinard, 1962; Popham, 1982). As more attention is paid to the study of situational determinants, however, there will be increased opportunities to explore the relationship between contextual variables and chronic problems.

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* Community Programs Evaluation Centre, Addiction Research Foundation, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario

For the present paper, I will briefly review the existing research on contextual determinants of drinking behaviour. The review will be restricted to naturalistic (i.e., non-labratory) studies, focussing on how the bar environment relates to amount consumed, intoxicated behaviour, and barroom aggression. Finally, I will present some data from a barroom study in Vancouver, examining those bar environment variables that both predict drinking problems in the bar (i.e., intoxication and aggression) and also have the potential to be somewhat controlled by social policy measures.

Review of Existing Research

a) Effects of Other Patrons - Group Size

The bulk of research on environmental determinants of alcohol consumption in bars has focussed on the size of the drinking group. Most people do not enter a drinking situation with a specific plan for how long they will stay or how much they will drink (Prus, 1983); rather, consumption is often controlled by the situation. And, as a number of studies have found, whether a person drinks alone or with a group of people can be an important aspect of the situation which determines how much that person drinks. While part of the impact may be due to a group effect such as modelling (Reid, 1978) or round-buying (Sargent, 1979), the major impact of the group seems to be on the duration of time spent in the bar, which seems to have a strong relationship with amount consumed (Cutler and Storm, 1975; Graves, Graves, Semu, and Sam, 1981; Sommer, 1965). Finally, there is also evidence that in some environments, with some patrons, not only whether one drinks in a group or not, but also the number of people in the group may influence amount consumed, rate of consumption, and time spent in the bar (Harford, Feinhandler, O'Leary, and Dorman, 1983; Rosenbluth, Nathan, and Lawson, 1978).

b) Variables of the Physical Environment

In his book on personal space, Sommer (1969) pointed out variables of the barroom environment that are likely to influence patron selection and patron behaviour (e.g., location, decor, price). In Canada, many aspects of the physical bar environment have been controlled by law; yet, very little evidence exists concerning the impact of such variables on drinking behaviour. Only recently have studies examined the effects on drinking behaviour of the physical attributes of the bar.

For example, Clark (1981) has suggested that recreational activities such as watching sports on T.V. may prolong time spent in a bar and thus increase amount consumed. On the other hand, Alberta bars made changes in recreational facilities from a different premise - namely, that if recreation was available in bars that previously had none, the option of engaging in other behaviours besides drinking might reduce the drinking rate. A study by Ratcliffe and others (1980) seemed to support both perspectives. They found that patrons who danced or played games did drink more slowly that those not using these amenities, but they also stayed longer and consumed more total alcohol. However, Ratcliffe found there was no effect on drinking behaviour of the availability of recreational activities for those patrons who did not use them. With regard to other entertainment variables, Bach and Schaefer (1979) found that the tempo of

pre-recorded country music can influence consumption rate, with slower tempo related to faster drinking.

Finally, in the 1970's a number of government-regulated physical changes were made to the Alberta beer parlours in addition to those changes in available recreation studied by Ratcliffe. These changes included: partitioning of large beer halls, improvements in decor, reduced size of bar, and dress codes. Apparently, these changes were instituted in response to unruly behaviour, and, although there seems to have been no scientific evaluation of these changes (other than the study on recreation), persons interviewed at the time (such as bar managers, Liquor Control Board officials) perceived the changes as extremely successful in improving behaviour of bar patrons (Zwarun, 1978).

c) Variables Partly Determined by Bar Policy or Barworker Behaviour

Although there is little specific evidence concerning the impact of barworkers and bar owners on the drinking behaviour of patrons, most bar studies suggest that bar staff exert considerable influence on consumption. Popham (1982) studied Toronto bars in the early 1950s and noted the influence of barworkers in the pressure to buy rounds, in the willingness to provide service to inebriated patrons, and in other responses to patrons such as willingness to extend credit. In addition, price manipulation may also influence consumption - a non-naturalistic study by Babor, Mendelson, Uhly, and Souza (1980) found that "happy hour" reductions in price tended to increase consumption.

Staff and management may also influence how permissive the bar is towards drunkenness and deviant behaviour among patrons. Overall, bars are permissive places compared to other environments; but even within the generally permissive environment of the barroom, the extent of permissiveness can vary considerably (e.g., Cavan, 1966; Roebuck and Frese, 1976), and this variability in permissiveness can be at least partly attributed to the behaviour of bar staff. For example, barworkers have certain controls they can and do exercise with intoxicated patrons, including refusal of service and encouraging patrons not to drive (Gusfield, 1981; Waring and Sperr, 1982). Barworkers also have the ultimate sanction of "barring" patrons from a tavern which may be a powerful means of controlling behaviour since many patrons place a high value on attending their regular or "home" bar (Richards, 1963-64).

Potentially Controllable Barroom Variables from a Vancouver Study (1978)

In 1978 I undertook a study to investigate the relationship between drinking environments and aggressive behaviour. Teams of two people completed 303 observations (2-3 hours each) in 185 bars in Vancouver. Environmental variables were recorded after each observation. Case notes were also written by observers after each observation and a second set of environmental variables were constructed at the end of the study. When aggressive incidents occurred, they were described extensively.

Inter-rater reliabilities of the independent estimates for the set of environmental variables coded by the two observers after each observation were reported in a previous paper (Graham, LaRocque, Yetman, Ross, and Guistra, 1980). For most variables, there was high agreement between the two observers.

At the time the study was done, the focus was on predicting aggressive behaviour. Most environmental variables were inter-related and the most accurate interpretation of findings in terms of relevance for the area of alcohol-related aggression seemed to be to emphasize the strong association between aggressive behaviour and skid row environments. In other words, the findings of most importance for the theory of alcohol-related aggression was the large proportion of incidents that occurred in skid row bars. The present paper takes a second look at those barroom data from the perspective of useful social policy considerations for decreasing intoxicated or aggressive behaviour in bars.

A number of environmental variables were selected for the present analyses as potentially at least partly controllable by public policy:

Physical Characteristics: seating capacity, seating style, whether or not the bar decor had a theme, whether or not red was a predominant colour, cleanliness, expenditure on furnishings and maintenance, overall impression of decor, and level of illumination.

Atmosphere Variables: recreation activities going on during the observation period, major form of entertainment, availability of food, ventilation, noise level, and crowding.

Barworker and Social Variables: sex of barworkers, barworker friendliness, apparent decorum expectations, extent of swearing, extent of sexual body contact, amount of movement within the bar, and openness to interaction with outsiders.

The measurement of intoxicated behaviour consisted of observer estimates of the percent of patrons who appeared sober, slightly drunk, drunk, and very drunk during the observation period. An overall intoxication score for each observation period was calculated by summing the percent of slightly drunk patrons plus twice the percent of drunk patrons plus three times the percent of very drunk patrons.

The intoxication variable which is based on visible signs of intoxication may not be a valid measure of amount consumed, since recent research has shown that even experienced bartenders are not very accurate at estimating blood alcohol concentration (Langenbucher and Nathan, 1983). Nevertheless, the intoxication variable has some validity in the present analyses. First, although imperfect, the intoxication measure should be highly related to amount consumed. Second, public intoxication is an important consideration -barworkers can only moderate their behaviour in response to visible intoxication, since they have no certain method of knowing how much a person has consumed (given possible consumption before entering a bar). Finally, there was high inter-observer agreement on this variable, suggesting that whatever its relationship with amount consumed, apparent intoxication seems to be a variable for which observers are able to make reliable discriminations. Perhaps, in the future, the relationship between the intoxication score and average amount consumed will be established; for example, one could compare the intoxication score during the observation period with recordings of the amount actually consumed by a sample of patrons in the bar.

Two measures of aggression were used in the analyses: number of incidents of physical aggression, and the total number of incidents of aggression (including

physical aggression). To explain the measures of aggression, I quote from our previous paper:

> The Dependent Variable: Frequency of Aggression. The intent of this study was to examine the situational determinants of aggression in drinking establishments. It was important that incidents recorded as aggression be ecologically valid, that is, that these incidents correspond to what patrons and barworkers in the place would consider aggression. Fights and other forms of physical aggression were obvious, but milder forms of aggression were more difficult to define. The decision whether a particular incident should be deemed aggression proved to be one of the major problems of data collection. It was often difficult for observers to decide when a particular incident crossed the line between "playful" behavior and aggression. To obtain some consistency, observers adopted a set of operational guidelines - an incident would be considered aggression if it involved personal violation (verbal insult, unwanted physical contact), behavior that was offensive according to the norms of the place, or a dispute in which the participants had personal investment. Since an attempt was made to evaluate behavior in terms of the norms of the drinking establishment, the criteria for determining aggression were to some extent variable. For example, non-abusive swearing might be offensive to patrons in a middle-class bar and would, therefore, be considered aggression, while in another bar might be inoffensive and not considered aggression. Questionable incidents were recorded and reviewed by the research group; in the end, only one incident was rejected.
>
> Incidents were also coded as nonphysical or physical, physical incidents including threats or challenges to fight (with no actual contact), noninjurious but aggressive physical contact (grabbing, pushing) and actual physical violence (punching, kicking). (Graham et al., 1980:280-281).

Results

The Vancouver data show some clear effects of the barroom environment, but these data need to be interpreted with some caution. Findings tend to agree with observations made by people about changes in barroom environments in Alberta, and somewhat with findings on recreation by Ratcliffe; nevertheless, most of these variables have not been systematically studied previously, and firm conclusions about the effects of specific variables should not be drawn on the basis of a single correlational study in a single city. On the other hand, most of the findings are fairly robust and are consistent with intuitive views on bar environments. The significant results from the Vancouver data should be perceived as suitable directions for further research on potential areas for public policies about public drinking.

A second problem in interpreting significant environmental predictors of intoxication and aggression is the effect of skid row on the analyses. Because skid row bars, as a group, differ from other bars on a number of the variables studied (e.g., cleanliness, ventilation) including amount of aggression and intoxication, it is important to determine which effects actually reflect a

relationship between environmental variables and intoxication/aggression, and which reflect artifactual relationships based on the association of these variables with the skid row culture.

One way of separating out the skid row effect would be to use partial correlations; however, the data include variables that are nominal, ordinal, and interval. Therefore, instead of using partial correlations, mean values of the intoxication and aggression variables are presented for each level of the environmental predictors (see Tables 1 to 3) for all observations, as well as broken down by skid row and non-skid row location. Vancouver has some clear skid row areas and the designation of "skid row bar" was based mostly on geography. For marginal bars, observers' comments written after the observation were used to decide the designation.

Separating out skid row bars sometimes resulted in empty or low frequency cells with corresponding difficulty in interpreting mean values. The appropriate statistic in this instance becomes problematic. In the following reporting of results, when the term "significance" is used it refers to an analysis of variance probability of less than .05. Admittedly, this significance level is too liberal for the kinds of distributions and the multiplicity of tests; however, for the present symposium, a liberal approach that permits the discussion of suggestive findings seems most appropriate.

a) Physical Characteristics (Table 1)

All observations. With the exception of use of the colour red as a predominant colour, and level of lighting, all variables significantly predicted intoxication and aggression when all observations were included in the analyses. Greater intoxication was associated with greater seating capacity, rows of tables (beer parlour style), no use of theme in the decor, lower standards of cleanliness, lower expenditure on furnishings and maintenance, and overall impression of shabby decor. Similar relationships of these environmental variables with measures of aggression were apparent, although seating capacity was not as strongly associated with aggression.

Excluding skid row. Regarding intoxication, the observations excluding skid row bars exhibited a similar effect to the overall analyses for seating capacity, seating style, and cleanliness, and significant but lesser effects for theme, expenditure, and decor. For aggression, the only statistically significant effects were for cleanliness and decor (although supportive trends were apparent for seating style, theme, and expenditure).

Skid row only. Among skid row bars, seating capacity was not associated with intoxication or aggression nor was seating style (there was little variability on this measure, however, since all skid row bars had tables in rows, beer parlour style with or without partitions). The effects of theme, cleanliness, and expenditure were the same as the overall trend for both intoxication and aggression (although due to the small number of observations differences were not always significant). An unexpected significant relationship was found between "red as the predominant colour" and less aggression. Since general beliefs concerning the arousing quality of the colour red would predict the opposite, a possible explanation of this finding is that the use of red denotes a better class of bar among skid row bars, which tend to be extremely drab.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF BAR CONTEXT AS PREDICTORS OF INTOXICATION OF PATRONS AND AGGRESSIVE INCIDENTS

	PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS	ALL OBSERVATIONS: AVERAGE INTOXICATION SCORE	ALL OBSERVATIONS: AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF PHYSICAL AGGRESSION*	ALL OBSERVATIONS: AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION*	ALL OBSERVATIONS: N OF OBSERVATIONS	EXCLUDING SKID ROW: AVERAGE INTOXICATION SCORE	EXCLUDING SKID ROW: AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF PHYSICAL AGGRESSION*	EXCLUDING SKID ROW: AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION*	EXCLUDING SKID ROW: N OF OBSERVATIONS	SKID ROW ONLY: AVERAGE INTOXICATION SCORE	SKID ROW ONLY: AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF PHYSICAL AGGRESSION*	SKID ROW ONLY: AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION*	SKID ROW ONLY: N OF OBSERVATIONS
SEATING CAPACITY	<50	23	0	0	17	23	0	0	17	--	--	--	0
	50 - 100	46	7	32	111	44	5	28	106	103	60	120	5
	100 - 150	64	22	70	67	54	10	41	58	126	100	256	9
	150 - 200	68	28	100	35	52	5	24	21	92	64	214	14
	>200	69	19	58	73	65	15	41	61	91	42	142	12
SEATING STYLE	rows of tables	81	40	111	71	64	20	60	40	102	68	177	31
	rows, some partitions	64	15	56	86	60	10	35	77	95	56	233	9
	spaced, comfortable chairs and tables	40	2	22	103	40	2	22	103	--	--	--	0
	high-backed chairs, chesterfields	45	7	25	28	45	7	25	28	--	--	--	0
	standing room - pub style	47	7	20	15	47	7	20	15	--	--	--	0
THEME	no overall theme	68	27	85	128	54	10	41	97	112	81	223	31
	decor has theme	49	7	29	175	48	7	27	166	62	11	78	9
RED	red not predominate colour	53	16	54	127	47	8	28	116	112	109	327	11
	red predominate colour	60	15	52	176	53	8	35	147	96	48	138	29
CLEANLINESS	spotless	36	2	18	45	36	3	18	44	55	0	0	1
	well-cared for	49	3	21	152	49	3	21	150	30	0	50	2
	slightly run-down	63	19	53	62	59	19	54	56	97	17	50	6
	furniture chipped and stained	92	57	169	35	73	31	115	13	104	73	200	22
	filthy	116	100	310	9	--	--	--	0	116	100	311	9
EXPEND-ITURE	high initial expenditure and maintenance	45	3	25	151	45	3	25	151	--	--	--	0
	high initial expenditure, not maintained	45	0	12	17	42	0	13	15	63	0	0	2
	low initial expenditure, but maintained	62	16	56	95	61	15	44	85	70	20	160	10
	low initial expenditure, not maintained	95	68	168	40	52	25	58	12	114	86	214	28
DECOR	shabby	114	67	200	18	116	100	300	1	113	65	194	17
	ordinary	57	19	60	162	52	11	39	140	93	68	195	22
	nice	49	4	28	115	49	4	24	114	55	0	0	1
	posh	37	0	0	8	37	0	0	8	--	--	--	0
LIGHTING	dark	48	0	25	4	48	0	25	7	--	--	--	0
	dim	53	14	54	80	49	11	45	74	104	50	167	6
	medium bright	60	16	48	178	54	7	28	151	99	63	156	27
	bright	50	20	76	41	39	6	21	34	104	86	343	7

*Numbers shown include two decimal places (i.e., 7 represents an average of .07 incidents per observation, 100 - an average of 1.00 incident per observation, etc.).

b) Bar Atmosphere (Table 2)

All observations. Overall, dancing was strongly associated with intoxication and aggression, while bars with no activities going on showed less intoxication and aggression. Higher levels of aggression and intoxication were also associated with having a band and with jukebox or disco entertainment; lower levels with no entertainment or "muzak". There was less intoxication and less aggression in bars where full meals and free snacks were available. Finally, poorly ventilated, noisy, crowded bars were associated with more intoxicated patrons and more aggressive incidents (although the association between crowding and aggression was not significant).

Excluding skid row. In the analyses excluding skid row bars, results for both intoxication and aggression remained the same (with increased importance of crowding in predicting aggression).

Skid row only. In skid row bars, significantly more intoxication was associated with higher noise and crowding levels, and significantly more aggression with poor ventilation and more noise. Other bar atmosphere variables did not appear to be significantly related to intoxication or aggression among skid row bars. It is not clear from available data whether the effects of recreation, entertainment and food availability appear different for skid row bars because of the small sample size or uneven distribution of barroom characteristics among skid row bars or whether these variables actually have a different effect or are less important among skid row bars compared to other bars.

c) Barworker and Social Variables (Table 3)

All observations. Bars with all female staff were infrequent but had less intoxicated and less aggressive patrons. For the variables "barworker friendliness", extremes of friendliness or unfriendliness were related to more intoxication, while there was less intoxication when barworkers were in the middle friendliness categories (i.e., reserved, friendly, and friendly-familiar); similarly, there was less aggression in bars with friendly and friendly-familiar barworkers.

There was a clear pattern of linear relationships between the three decorum variables (general permissiveness, swearing, and sexual contact) and all measures of intoxication and aggression. Finally, there was significantly more intoxication and aggression in bars where there was more patron movement (e.g., table-hopping, milling around) and where the bar environment was not particularly open to strangers. These variables, taken together, indicate that a permissive, home territory, social club kind of bar is associated with higher levels of intoxication and aggression.

Excluding skid row. The pattern of findings for observations excluding skid row bars was much the same, except: 1) barworker friendliness showed a somewhat different relationship with intoxication, 2) the relationship of aggression with sex of barworker and with barworker friendliness was not significant, and 3) openness to strangers in the bar did not significantly predict intoxication or physical aggression.

TABLE 2

BAR ATMOSPHERE VARIABLES AS PREDICTORS OF INTOXICATION OF PATRONS AND AGGRESSIVE INCIDENTS

		ALL OBSERVATIONS				EXCLUDING SKID ROW				SKID ROW ONLY			
	BAR ATMOSPHERE VARIABLES	AVERAGE INTOXICATION SCORE	AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF PHYSICAL AGGRESSION*	AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION*	N OF OBSERVATIONS	AVERAGE INTOXICATION SCORE	AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF PHYSICAL AGGRESSION*	AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION*	N OF OBSERVATIONS	AVERAGE INTOXICATION SCORE	AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF PHYSICAL AGGRESSION*	AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION*	N OF OBSERVATIONS
RECREATION	dancing	101	69	142	26	94	52	110	21	129	140	280	5
	pool	69	27	86	115	59	32	43	83	94	63	197	32
	other games	56	13	35	80	54	11	30	74	84	33	100	6
	no activities	44	3	23	144	41	1	19	139	120	60	140	5
MAJOR FORM OF ENTERTAINMENT	none	32	3	20	40	31	3	15	39	96	0	200	1
	"muzak"	35	0	9	53	34	0	10	52	80	0	0	1
	television	58	13	36	55	49	5	16	44	92	45	118	11
	single entertainer	56	0	33	30	54	0	34	29	96	0	0	1
	band	82	54	96	24	79	45	86	22	119	150	200	2
	jukebox or disco	74	29	101	86	63	11	53	66	108	90	260	20
	stripper	60	7	47	15	52	9	18	11	81	0	125	4
AVAILABILITY OF FOOD	meals	40	2	14	94	40	2	13	93	34	0	100	1
	fast-food	67	23	90	71	55	15	45	47	91	38	179	24
	free snack food	44	0	24	21	44	0	24	21	--	--	--	0
	snack food for sale	67	19	57	58	60	12	39	51	120	71	186	7
	no food	67	31	76	59	58	12	51	51	120	150	238	8
VENTILATION	hot and stuffy	90	71	200	38	72	35	95	20	110	111	317	18
	smokey	90	21	73	33	85	8	64	25	104	63	100	8
	fresh	47	6	25	232	44	6	22	218	86	7	79	14
NOISE	very quiet	31	0	8	51	28	0	6	49	90	0	50	2
	medium quiet	55	11	56	183	48	6	32	152	91	39	174	31
	medium loud	76	27	67	55	68	8	41	49	142	183	283	6
	loud	98	79	121	14	92	62	100	13	183	300	400	1
CROWDING	<1/3 full	49	13	49	158	40	5	21	131	90	52	185	27
	1/3 - 2/3 full	59	13	54	105	54	8	40	96	113	67	211	9
	>2/3 full	83	33	65	40	76	19	53	36	144	150	175	4

*Numbers shown include two decimal places (i.e., 7 represents an average of .07 incidents per observation, 100 - an average of 1.00 incident per observation, etc.).

TABLE 3

BARWORKER VARIABLES AND POTENTIALLY CONTROLLABLE SOCIAL VARIABLES AS PREDICTORS OF INTOXICATION OF PATRONS AND AGGRESSIVE INCIDENTS

	BARWORKER AND SOCIAL VARIABLES	ALL OBSERVATIONS				EXCLUDING SKID ROW				SKID ROW ONLY			
		AVERAGE INTOXICATION SCORE	AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF PHYSICAL AGGRESSION *	AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION *	N OF OBSERVATIONS	AVERAGE INTOXICATION SCORE	AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF PHYSICAL AGGRESSION*	AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION *	N OF OBSERVATIONS	AVERAGE INTOXICATION SCORE	AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF PHYSICAL AGGRESSION*	AVERAGE # INCIDENTS OF ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION*	N OF OBSERVATIONS
SEX OF BARWORKERS	all male	62	21	147	129	49	3	28	98	103	77	216	31
	all female	37	0	51	24	34	0	13	23	96	0	200	1
	all female except bartender	51	8	99,	59	47	9	44	55	111	0	100	4
	mixture of males and females	59	16	77	91	58	15	34	87	74	50	75	4
BARWORKER FRIENDLINESS	hostile and rude	69	41	114	22	37	0	15	13	116	100	256	9
	avoided interactions with patrons	83	21	94	34	64	0	18	22	118	58	233	12
	reserved	52	28	63	40	51	21	55	38	75	150	200	2
	friendly	53	9	37	113	49	5	32	105	106	63	100	8
	friendly and familiar	47	9	32	78	46	9	24	70	59	13	100	8
	sitting with patrons	71	19	69	16	70	13	40	15	85	100	500	1
APPARENT DECORUM EXPECTATIONS	high	39	5	16	88	39	5	16	87	55	0	0	1
	moderate	52	6	30	109	48	4	22	100	95	33	122	9
	permissive	61	10	44	61	58	10	38	52	73	11	78	9
	very permissive	93	47	158	36	84	33	117	24	113	75	242	12
	"anything goes"	121	140	322	9	--	--	--	0	121	144	322	9
SWEARING	mild or absent	45	3	14	106	45	3	14	105	19	0	0	1
	present but restrained	43	7	30	81	43	8	30	80	55	0	0	1
	frequent, acceptable, but non-abusive	70	17	62	93	64	14	50	72	90	29	105	21
	frequent, acceptable, and abusive	107	96	274	23	69	33	150	6	121	118	318	17
SEXUAL BODY CONTACT	none or very casual	42	4	22	134	41	4	22	130	59	0	25	4
	discreet necking	56	8	31	112	54	5	27	103	80	44	78	9
	heavy necking, touching	88	52	150	44	77	41	96	27	107	71	235	17
	flagrant fondling	114	77	223	13	75	0	33	3	125	100	280	10
MOVEMENT	very little movement within bar	49	6	28	217	45	4	22	199	94	28	94	18
	milling about, wandering, or table-hopping common	77	41	115	86	68	22	63	64	106	95	268	22
OPENNESS	frequent interaction among strangers	52	11	30	161	48	5	21	132	110	90	140	10
	little interaction among strangers	61	20	73	142	53	11	43	131	97	57	207	30

Skid row only. Decorum variables were again related to amount of intoxication and aggression, and aggression was also associated with more movement in the bar. Other patterns were not clearly interpretable, at least partly because certain barroom characteristics were rare in skid row bars (e.g., all female staff, high decorum expectations).

d) The Relationship of Time of Day with Some Significant Determinants

Many variables found to predict intoxication and aggression are the sorts of variables likely to be related to time of day. For example, dancing is more likely to be going on at night, and bars are more likely to be crowded and noisy at night. It is possible, for example, that the relationship between dancing and intoxication is a spurious one, based completely on the relationship between time of day and intoxication. Therefore, separate analyses were done on observations before 9 pm and observations after 9 pm for variables likely to be confounded with time of day. The variables analysed this way included: recreation, entertainment, food, ventilation, noise level, crowding level, apparent decorum expectations, swearing, sexual body contact, and movement. There were some differences, particularly in size of effect, but the overall relationships of the environmental variables with intoxicated and aggressive behaviour were found to be the same for both daytime and evening observations.

Conclusions

Although there has not been a great deal of research on the bar environment in the determination of heavy drinking and drinking problems, it is possible to draw some general conclusions on the basis of existing research and the analyses of our Vancouver data presented here:

1) Drinking behaviour is at least partly determined by the patron environment; that is, such factors as drinking in groups will influence amount consumed and probably other bar behaviour.

2) Some aspects of the physical environment appear to determine drinking behaviour. The Vancouver data indicated that intoxication and aggression were related to larger seating capacity, rows of tables, no theme, and lower standards of furnishings and upkeep. While these variables may be confounded with patron characteristics such as social class, the finding that theme and upkeep are important determinants when both skid row and non-skid row bars are examined separately suggests a possible independent effect of these physical characteristics (as believed by Albertans interviewed by Zwarun in 1978). A number of explanations of these findings are possible and should be explored. For example, the decor and upkeep in the bar may give a message to patrons about the kinds of behaviours expected. Concerning structural layout, beer-parlour style seating may be particularly conducive to establishing large groups as well as obtaining fast service.

3) The general atmosphere of the bar contributes to drinking behaviour. The kinds of activities going on (or whether any are going on), the kind of entertainment, availability of food, ventilation, noise, and crowding have all been identified as significant determinants. One may not feel it desirable to

legislate the form of entertainment in bars, but such barroom characteristics as ventilation, capacity, acoustics, and space allocated per patron could receive further attention as contributors to aggression and intoxicated behaviour.

4) Barworkers affect drinking behaviour through their own behaviour and through the behavioural expectations that they help to establish. A permissive atmosphere with lots of moving around has been associated with intoxication and aggression in Vancouver bars; and, while barworkers do not wholly control such variables, they are usually the ones responsible for setting limits and indicating acceptable behaviour. Observers in Vancouver found considerable variation in decorum expectations even among skid row bars within the same block and serving many of the same patrons. They also observed considerable variability among barworkers in their ability to defuse rather than aggravate aggressive incidents. Clearly, the role of the barworker deserves greater study, particularly with a view to reducing or preventing certain drinking behaviours.

In summary, although the field of research at present is small, there are positive indications that the public drinking environment is strongly related to intoxication and aggression.

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THE PHYSICAL SETTING: BEHAVIOUR AND POLICY*

James M. Schaefer**

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to suggest the relationships between selected social and physical variables in drinking settings and abusive/non-abusive drinking behaviour. A second objective is to describe a way that environmental research can feed into the establishment of useful policy in society.

Ethnographic studies of communities have nearly a one hundred year history (Harris, 1968). Studies of contemporary American communities were begun in the late 1930s with the Lynds' Middletown in Transition (1937). Following in this tradition of studying one's own culture, recent efforts have been made to describe drinking contexts. Cavan's (1966) study of 100 bars in San Francisco was followed by other survey studies involving many bars (Richards, 1963-64; Kessler and Gomberg, 1974). Single bar studies have also been published (Mass Observation, 1943; MacRory, 1952; Gottlieb, 1957; Sommer, 1965; Pfautz and Hyde, 1960; Clinard, 1962; Roebuck and Spray, 1967; Room, 1972; Clark, 1966, 1977; Cutler and Storm, 1975; Partanen, 1975; LeMasters, 1975; Billings *et al.*, 1976; Bissonette, 1977; Thomas, 1978; Bach and Schaefer, 1979; Graham *et al.*, 1980).

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* **Editors' Note:** The following presentation by James Schaefer is different from the preceding papers in that it is addressed to policy-makers rather than to other social scientists. Thus Professor Schaefer does not present the detailed findings of his or others' studies, but rather attempts to summarize the research, and focus on policy implications. Despite the exploratory nature of the presentation and the difference in style from the other papers, it is a thought-provoking piece and it is therefore included here.

** Director, Office of Alcohol and Other Drug Abuse Programming, University of Minnesota.

Bar Studies

The Trail's End is a classic country and western bar in western Montana. It is patronized by men and women connected with the logging, plywood, and pulp and paper industry of the western Montana region. During a period of ten years in the 1960s and 1970s this bar and several others were subjects of study by myself, several research assistants, and students.

The research was conducted as an unobtrusive participant observation style study. The owner was aware of our work and approved of it. We provided oral reports to him on occasion. Our work, while systematic, had the appearance, by design, of individuals or small groups behaving like any other patrons in the establishment. Friendships were created among key actors in the bar. We were able to observe drinking behaviours, learn of expectations, and evaluate consequences of a wide variety of activities over the period of study. Considerable attention was paid to dynamics in the bar where heavy drinkers were most involved and when they were apt to consume excessive or small amounts of beverage alcohol. We focused on circumstances and arrangements surrounding the times when large numbers of drinkers initiated and maintained high levels of heavy drinking. These binge atmospheres, these times of heavy action had characteristics that left their mark on the Trail's End. We were able to see strong associations between lighting, music style, music tempo, rate of consumption, style of drinking, ratio of males to females, group size, conversation styles, and other features of the decor as conditions of abusive drinking or the absence of abusive drinking. Often these environmental variables changed around the same drinking crowd. In other words, there was a close relationship between a simple thing like playing three or four songs on the juke box (or as we think about it now, the mood selection device) and drinking activity. As the mood and tempo of the songs filtered through the bar, key actors could be seen changing the level and intensity of their drinking activity. They might order another drink, drink more rapidly, initiate a contact, shout out a challenge, move about, tip their hat at a rowdier angle, or use subtle body language to evoke a response from others in their drinking set. Context appeared to make a difference.

Out of these observations we were able systematically to test some ideas about the relationship of environmental influences on drinking. Several years ago Paul Bach and I published a paper on the inverse relationship we had found between the tempo of music in country western bars and rate of drinking. Slower songs went with fast drinking (Bach and Schaefer, 1979). While this music-oriented paper is our only published study based on the years of unsponsored work done in those drinking scenes it stimulated further conceptualization about risky environments. The theoretical framework developed during numerous presentations to scientific and lay audiences during the past five years. The main point here is that a lot of field observations were completed and some preliminary theoretical notions were crystallizing. Of particular importance to our thinking were the works published during the time prior to 1975 as cited elsewhere in this monograph. (See Single and Storm, in particular.) A most influential perspective was found in Csikszentmihalyi's paper (1968) where he pointed to the influence of culture on the physical arrangements and atmosphere of drinking environments. The German beer hall, the English pub, the French bistro, the Greek taverns, and the American cocktail lounge are products of patrons and their cultural attitudes and needs. This got us thinking

about the potential importance of context: the sounds and the shapes of the environment as causal influences in abuse, and I hasten to add, in preventing abuse (Schaefer, 1981a).

Risky Environments, Safe Environments

Very few studies of drinking environments develop or test explicit theories about alcohol abuse. For the most part, drinking environment studies are descriptive, taxonomic, or methodological treatises. They tend to portray the individual and his or her behaviour in the drinking scene as normative. Groups are treated in like fashion.

For the purpose of sorting out specific relationships, I suggested in 1980 that a continuum of risk loadings might be assigned to various physical and social factors. These loadings were keyed to episodes of abusive drinking behaviours and were empirically based on observational studies. No single factor could be observed in isolation. There were always several variables operating in the drinking scenes. But for conceptualization purposes and discussion, risk factors are here stated as single relationships. Much more work needs to be done to understand the validity and reliability of these suggestions. Indeed good multivariate analyses need to be conducted. But I think simple linkages are needed first.

Social and physical features are assigned nominal or ordinal scale values along a continuum of risk for alcohol abuse. These include conditions under which people consciously or inadvertently consume more than they might normally. The environmental conditions are suggested to be powerful influences on rational judgment. The atmosphere of the bar, the feelings that are created in the sounds, shapes, and social dynamics are qualities set forth in this section. They become part of the self-regulation dilemma faced by people who drink. They are the subtle influences that can mean the difference between a good social time and another drunken night.

Length of Stay

Time is an element in any drinking scene. Generally speaking, the shorter the stay the more likely responsible decisions will be made about drinking. The longer people stay the more likely they are to drink more than normal.

Per Capita Consumption

In any given drinking scene there are people who are drinking at a fast or slow rate. High risk situations for abuse by the average drinker occur when the per capita rate exceeds 5 drinks in a given party timeframe. Responsible decisions are more likely to occur when the per capita consumption is one or two drinks per hour.

Price

A clear relationship exists between the price of beverage alcohol in public drinking places and risk of abuse. From all of the work we have done and from scores of classic studies this appears to be an established environmental variable with predictable results.

Group Size

The dynamics of group size need to be understood in drinking situations. When people get together there is a micro social structure or social order. The conversation structure makes for meaningful feedback on self-control, self-regulation of drinking behaviour. When there are solitary drinkers or when there are more than five or six drinkers in a group, the drinking behaviour is roughly equivalent. People in a large group participate tangentially in the whole group--thus they tend to be isolated socially or conversationally from the group. These folks are at a higher risk to abuse alcohol, in our observation. They report feeling left out. They are frustrated and in subtle ways this gives them motivation to order another drink or else leave the group. On the other hand, integrated social conversation frequently takes place in public drinking places where 3-4 people are in a group. Couples also have low risk of abusive drinking behaviour.

Lighting

Public drinking places tend to be artifically lighted at levels that are established by the comfort zone of the management or patrons. Often bar lights are controlled by a rheostat or some other servomechanism. Lights are used to control behaviour in some establishments, especially at closing or trouble times. Lights turned up to bright signal people to change what they have been doing.

Generally, we have found people in dark bars or bright bars at low risk to abuse of alcohol. Moderately lighted places are higher risk, by our observation. Places that are dark are often romantic situations where the agenda is not drunkenness. Bright bars are no fun to be in. Action spots typically are bright enough for effective cruising but dark enough to cover up faults.

Male:Female Ratio

A social factor in any gathering that appears to affect the pressure to drink differently is the balance of the sexes. Public drinking in mixed crowds where the sex ratio is balanced or as high as 2 to 1 in favor of either sex tends to be qualitatively different from ratios in the 4:1 or higher range. Anxiety, frustration, and social discomfort is higher in male-dominated bar crowds. Drinking rates tend to be higher under these circumstances. On the few occasions we have observed disproportionate situations where females greatly outnumbered the males, the social and psychological tensions were higher and drinking heavier than under the more typical male scenarios.

Behaviour Controls

Signs designed to state social controls appear in many forms in most drinking places. Signs on the door, the wall, or behind the bar are the most common. These signs are statements of management policy and often crowd/patron values regarding the expected social order. Rules about dress requirements send a clear signal that orderliness is expected. Other behaviour-oriented rules also convey the values of the establishment. They often provide clues to the stranger of past problems and possible trouble areas for which tolerance limits have been set. When the owner, the bartender, or waitpersons only verbally state rules of behaviour, there is less of an effect on drinking behaviour. However, the stated rules are momentary guidelines that are easy to be ignored. Without backup, without enforcement, few rules have the desired impact on patron behaviour. The least formal rules are what I call "jukebox rules." Here the dominant social order is a function of the code established by the lyrics in songs. If the song is about fighting, drinking, cheating, and rowdiness, often these can become the social order. If the dominant theme of the favorite songs on the "mood selection device" is "let's get drunk and be somebody", it may well become realized.

Drinking Style

Drinking styles influence others to drink in like fashion. Most responsible drinking decisions are made in the "sip and talk" mode. Under these circumstances an emphasis is placed on the social aspect of the gathering. Alcohol is but a minor unemphasized component. This drinking style has been observed to slow down drinking although the effect seems most frequently to move in the opposite direction. That is, faster rate drinking and the gulping or challenging style of the excessive drinker influences the lighter drinker to speed up. The gulping style or rapid style of drinking is almost always a high risk environment to others in the public drinking scene. It influences others to keep up. A moderately risky drinking style is "contact pick up" style drinking. Observations of the singles scene have portrayed a common style that involves mimicking the style of the person one is trying to meet. The pace of behaviour is closely matched; similar drinks are ordered and body postures are copied. Clearly if this creates tension and drinks get consumed faster than planned, it can be a risky scene. More typically, the rate of consumption is lower due to the romantic goals recognized by both individuals after contact. The scene is of moderate risk because there are more games played than success stories. Anticipation and frustration can lead to abuse of alcohol.

Dance Floor Space

Many public drinking places have space available for dancing. To the anthropologist, dance floors are "styling-out space"; that is, where people are able to show their stuff and express themselves in other ways than conversation. Small dance floors often make for anxiety and frustration. They can be dangerous as well, given errant elbows and feet. The small dance floor also limits the availability of space for people to show their style. Large dance floors, by contrast, give ample opportunity for people to try to accomplish their social goals. Moreover, where there is space to "style-out", precision is a virtue.

Observation of places with dancing and with varying sized dance floors suggests that crowded dance floors are associated with abusive drinking.

Music and Mood: General

Recent studies of the effect of music on behaviour, cognition, and emotion have raised the possibility that it might be an important social variable. Rock music has been shown to affect reading comprehension (Franklin, 1977). Task performances have been shown to be affected by certain forms of music (Skulman, 1977; Barnes, 1977). Reactions to failure (Perillo, 1978) and the mood and speech of depressed patients have also been linked to background music styles (Nucci, 1976). Ethnic music has been shown to be an effective modifier of emotion (Goines, 1973; Gawn, 1970). Unpublished industrial research has indicated that specific styles of music enhance the atmosphere of retail stores, shopping centers, working environments, and recreational settings. Country western music tempo has been linked with drinking rates in barroom settings (Bach and Schaefer, 1979).

The study of musical forms, moods, and styles has for centuries been undertaken with great flair by a wide variety of humanists and critics. Only recently have serious attempts at quantitative analysis begun. Alan Lomax and his colleagues at Columbia University, over the last 25 years, have developed and refined a technique called cantometrics. Beginning with the tools of structural linguistics, Lomax (1959) developed a scheme to dissect sung versions of songs (Lomax and Trager, 1977). This eventually led to his world-wide study on song style and culture (Lomax, 1968). In this study, his research group coded song styles for a sample of 400 societies and ran correlations with technological, political, social, economic, and belief system variables. Following this major effort a comprehensive training manual with tape recordings was made available--the cantometric system (Lomax, 1976).

Country Music, Rock Music and Alcohol

Studies of the relationship between the generic musical styles of country music and rock music have recently begun. Efforts have been made to demonstrate the growth of these forms of music. The themes of the lyrics and their links to the listening audience world-view have been attempted (Malone, 1968; Belz, 1969; DiMaggio et al., 1972). A focus on country music 'losers' (Hank Williams and Jimmy Rodgers), 'rakes' (Jerry Lee Lewis), 'reformed losers' (Johnny Cash), and 'resigned rebels' (Merle Haggard) has been expanded to include the 'outlaws' (Jerry Jeff Walker, Willie Nelson, Waylon Jennings) and the 'cross-overs' (Kenny Rogers, Linda Ronstadt, Emmy Lou Harris). Studies about images of alcohol use in country music have portrayed listeners/singers/users as 'beguiling and betraying' (Chalfant and Beckley, 1977). External locus of control of lyrics which suggest that life is out of one's personal control has been examined for country and rock music (Bach and Schaefer, 1980; Rotter, 1966).

Our field studies have indicated distinct patterns in musical preference in bars with high and low per capita consumption. Frequency counts of songs played in these bars indicate mood sets. The hard drinkers prefer listening to slower paced, wailing, lonesome, self-pitying music generally during slow times in the

bar scene. They prefer bold, macho, strong-beat music when the action scene in the bar picks up. These mood sets appear patterned in song/drinking style surveys in high to low consumption bars. This association is quite striking. Song selection frequencies have been studied by participant observer counting and by juke box register, so a profile of song preferences can be made. The drinking style (heavy drinker vs. light drinker) can be observed in barroom samples (Kessler and Gomberg, 1974; Billings et al., 1976). The bar cash register receipts with time checks put on by cooperating bartenders can allow for accurate per capita consumption rates and time profiles. In field studies hand counts have been made easily; however, automatic counting is clearly feasible so as to obtain the music and drink data unobtrusively (Webb et al., 1966) directly in the bar scene.

The mood of a public drinking place, as alluded to above, is frequently set by the music that is dominant. Some places have no music. There, conversation dominates and from the risk perspective, the mere absence of the powerful emotion-laden music places it in a relatively low risk category, in terms of alcohol abuse. Places with music, even fixed format and fixed selection music such as tapes, are higher risk to abuse of alcohol, in our experience. However, live bands and jukeboxes (mood selection devices) rate highest in terms of alcohol-abuse-related influence. Choice, repetition, and emotion-related aspects of music, whether of records or in the form of live bands, are potentially high risk. A pattern of music that dominates the mood has been our focus.

Music Style

American contemporary music, as it is presented to customers in public drinking places, comes in various styles. Patrons select songs based upon their listening and experience. The top 40 on radio stations, both AM and FM, play a significant role in patron selections of songs. We have found that there tends to be a predominant music style in a bar. The patrons select songs and the most frequently played songs remain, while infrequently played songs are removed. The replacements by record vending companies are provided but are often selected for the bar based on known preferences. We interviewed jukebox players in many bars to determine their motives. Most said that they were simply keeping the mood going. They were, in effect, maintaining the flow of emotions, and the rhythm of activity in the scene was closely linked to the feelings expressed on the records. Management often has a lot to do with band and tape selection.

We found that the highest risk situations, where alcohol abuse often occurred, were mood sets dominated by country western or jazz. These were the most emotionally filled environments. Popular music and rock and roll music were associated with moderate alcohol abuse. Dancing and expensive drinks were most common in these establishments. The mood was more likely set by the beat of the song rather than the combined beat and lyrics as noted in the country western and jazz styles. Lyrics of country and jazz are more story-like than the repetitive short content of rock or popular music. For these reasons as well, we suspect that listeners are more likely to identify with and perhaps reflect more on the message and moods of country and jazz.

Music Tempo (Country)

Paul Bach came up with the ingenious idea of measuring tempo and sips in Montana bars as measurable environmental phenomena. Much to our surprise, in the country music dominated bar studied on consecutive Friday nights, the people sipped more frequently when slow country music was being played (Bach and Schaefer, 1979). A number of informal restudies of this observed relationship have been completed with similar findings. Perkins (1981) found related phenomena in loudness. Higher sip frequencies accompanied quieter music in the Buffalo bars he studied.

Over the past five years considerable attention has been focused on this phenomenon by the popular press. Speculations on the reasons for the linkage have varied from biofeedback theory and subliminal stimulus theory to mood dominance and cantometric theory. I think that slow country songs tend to be moody blues or songs about the lonesome aspects of life among working people. I think we found a good proxy measure for moody lyric content in the tempo measurement. That is, the tempo itself while nearly in the heartbeat range probably has little to do with drinking behaviour in and of itself. Of greater interest and potential importance is the pitch, nasality, beat sequencing, and related structural features of the song as Alan Lomax (1968) so clearly stated. Our own follow-up research on lyric content of popular songs on jukeboxes suggested that the lonely songs were preferred (Schaefer and Bach, n.d.). Whatever final conclusion comes from examination of song content, tempo, and feeling as it relates to drinking, we knew as soon as we started to study it that there was a richness in the bar environment that changed the way people felt in addition to the alcohol. Much more work needs to be done here.

Art and Decor

Public drinking places sometimes have artwork displayed on walls or behind the bar. At least three art styles have been noted and accompanying behaviours attributed to each, based on observation. Bars with landscape paintings or pictures and/or wallpaper with its repeated pattern have usually been places where controlled social drinking takes place. We have speculated that the tranquility in the art has a calming effect on patrons. Portraits, especially of past patrons (common in bars in the Rocky Mountain West), can often evoke direct drinking responses. I have talked to numerous patrons about portraits in such places and they tell me that the cowboys, gamblers, or street people portrayed are how they too would like to be remembered--as characters or culture heroes. Often these patrons would be drinking heavily and excuse their drunkenness as an effort to do "just like 'Squeek' or 'Dirk' used to do". While this attribution to moderate alcohol abuse through artwork may sound farfetched, action photos or paintings are examples of artwork that have been observed to stimulate heavy drinking. Pictures, especially vivid action photographs of rodeo spectacles, ski racers or stylists, football gyrations, cheerleading leaps, or fishing/hunting dreams are the subject of barroom banter. Comments frequently heard were: "I can ski just like that!" "Man, would you like to catch one like that." "If I could only bang moguls like that, would I ever have the women!" And so forth.

Application of Bar Environment Research to Public Policy

Public drinking places are the historical results of community-based decisions on alcohol use. These places of business are in effect statements of community tolerance for the good and the bad things that accompany the use by patrons of beverage alcohol. Others have suggested that bars serve a function in many societies as social centers, as gathering spots for young and old, and as places for gossip as well as political discussion (See E. Single, this volume.) Oldenburg and Brissett have called bars a "third place" after the workplace and home (1980, 1983).

I have argued above that drinking environments, including management style and serving practices, influence alcohol use and alcohol abuse. Some bars are very risky from the viewpoint of alcohol abuse potential. Explicit and implicit policies, behavioural tolerance, physical layout, and general atmosphere have been noted as conditions under which people tend to overconsume. These high risk situations do not foster self-regulation. On the other hand, some drinking places are not risky at all. In fact, they are centers of social interaction where drinking decisions and drinking related behaviours are responsibly carried out. In such places people seldom get drunk but have a good time with or without alcohol. The community benefits from their existence in nearly every respect.

It is in the community arena where studies on public drinking environments, including management practices, take on importance with respect to social policy. One area of control that historically has been part of public policy is the issuance of liquor licenses.

Now here is an example of the application of some of the researched ideas to practical social policy. In many communities city councils are charged with the authority to issue a wide variety of business licenses. In some states, a liquor control board decides who shall be licensed. The authority vested in our elected or appointed officials carries with it an explicit understanding that they will protect the health, safety and welfare of the public. Many laws state this concern.

To me, the liquor licensing process has not focused enough attention on the health, safety and welfare issues that impinge on our towns, cities, counties, and states. Of current interest is the apparent acceptance rates of drunken driving, alcohol involvement in crimes of violence, alcohol involvement in youth related problems, and so forth. What happens at liquor license hearings, if anything, are comments by council members or commissioners about various well known violations that have occurred on bar or restaurant premises. The policy report may be reviewed. Little can be done. There are seldom punitive clauses that can be applied. The businesses are not likely to be denied their licenses since no one wants to cruelly rob a person of his/her means of livelihood.

That is where the concept of a plan for creating positive action, or alcohol abuse prevention, in the licensing process originated. It was suggested that the city council or liquor control board initiate, <u>as a regular part of the liquor licensing process</u>, a program wherein the licensee present a plan of action that he/she intended to follow during the next licensing period. The plan of action should address well known areas of alcohol abuse reduction, loss of control, or risk management. A list of fourteen abuse reduction steps follow:

1. Train and monitor bartenders, waitpersons, clerks and other personnel who serve alcoholic beverages regarding legal responsibilities and state of the art hospitality practices. "Before I take your drink order, who is driving?"

2. Provide and promote non-alcoholic drinks to patrons including, where feasible, non-alcoholic beers, wines and champagnes.

3. Provide meals, snacks and related food stuffs selected to help absorb alcoholic drinks throughout the course of any given day/evening. Minimize salty snacks.

4. Check the identification of all patrons under the age of 25 to make certain that minors are not being served.

5. Provide clearly stated rules of behaviour that will not be tolerated on the premises. Such rules will be placed conspicuously and will be enforced by all employees.

6. Provide all employees with names and phone numbers of local alcohol abuse treatment and prevention resources to assist in alcohol related crises.

7. Provide and promote safe transportation options for intoxicated patrons who are drivers. (Breath/urine "tests"). "Show me the way to go home..."

8. Post information on blood alcohol levels and driving risks based on body weight and number of drinks.

9. Provide dancing space (where available) that would reduce the chance of a crowded floor.

10. Provide a wide range of gaming and recreational activities (where allowed) focused on person-machine competition and people-people cooperation.

11. No special rates on alcoholic drinks without food provision and non-alcoholic drink promotion.

12. Refuse drinks-to-go.

13. Mixed musical format (where allowed) whether jukebox, tape or band. Balance of music styles (jazz, country, rock, popular) rather than dominant mood sets.

14. Upbeat decorations. Change artwork, physical arrangements of tables, chairs (where allowed).

In Plymouth, Minnesota in 1982, the liquor license ordinance was modified to include two of the suggested action steps. The city of Excelsior, Minnesota orchestrated the signing of a "Hospitality Convenant" that included voluntary compliance with a dozen of the points listed above (Sun Newspapers, 1983). In addition to these communities, Fairmont, Wayzata, Grand Rapids, Chanhassen, Hibbing, New Hope, and Golden Valley, Minnesota, Ottawa, Illinois, and others have considered the approach.

Incentives often work to move things. Many of the listed items can create profits for these businesses. Liquor licensees might comply if they got a liquor license fee rebate for compliance.

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ALCOHOL IN BRITAIN: PATTERNS, PROBLEMS, PARADOXES AND PUBLIC POLICY

Martin A. Plant*

Introduction

An appraisal is presented of a limited Scottish experiment in influencing styles of public drinking. This is considered in the context of recent trends in alcohol use and misuse in Britain. Public policies on alcohol are also discussed in relation to some key constraints upon their implementation.

The general level of alcohol consumption in the United Kingdom (UK) has virtually doubled since 1950. In association with this rise there has been a proliferation of alcohol-related problems such as crimes of drunkenness, hospital admissions for alcohol dependence and deaths due to liver cirrhosis (Royal College of Psychiatrists, 1979; Davies, 1982). These are illustrated by Tables 4 and 5 and Figures 2 and 3.

Broadly comparable increases in alcohol consumption have been evident in many other countries. In some, such as Western Germany and the Netherlands, the percentage increase in per capita alcohol consumption has been far greater than that noted in either the UK or in Canada. In addition, the UK, like the USA and Canada, has a much lower level of alcohol consumption than that noted elsewhere, such as France, Spain and West Germany. The huge rise in per capita consumption that occurred worldwide during the 1950s and 1960s has moderated, and in some areas, has even been partly reversed since 1974. This is shown in Table 1.

Paradoxically, concern about public drunkenness and many other alcohol-related problems appears to be particularly great, not in countries with the highest general level of alcohol consumption, but in countries where such consumption is medium (such as the UK, USA and Canada) or where it is low (such as Norway, Sweden and Finland). It has been suggested that the reason for this apparent anomaly is that in countries such as France, drinking is more "civilized" and more closely integrated with family life. Conversely, it has been argued that in Nordic and "Anglo-Saxon" countries, alcohol consumption is less integrated and more likely to occur in sporadic heavy sessions.

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* Senior Research Fellow, Alcohol Research Group, Department of Psychiatry, University of Edinburgh.

TABLE 1

PER CAPITA ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION IN TWENTY COUNTRIES BETWEEN 1974 AND 1981

Country	Per capita consumption per head of total population in litres of pure alcohol		Percentage change
	1974	1981	1974-81
Australia	9.7	10.0	+3.0
Austria	11.7	11.1	-5.0
Belgium	10.0	10.5	+5.0
Canada	9.0	9.1*	+1.0
Finland	6.5	6.5	0.0
France	16.7	13.7	-22.0
Germany (East)	7.6	10.0	+32.0
Germany (West)	11.7	12.5	+7.0
Irish Republic	6.7	7.0	+4.0
Italy	13.8	10.9	-27.0
Netherlands	8.1	8.8	+9.0
New Zealand	9.1	9.8	+8.0
Norway	4.2	4.2	0.0
Poland	6.6	6.6	0.0
Portugal	12.0	11.9	-1.0
Spain	14.1	13.1	-8.0
Sweden	6.1	5.4	-13.0
U.K.	6.8	7.1***	+4.0
U.S.A.	6.8	8.3	+22.0
U.S.S.R.	6.3**	6.2	-2.0

* 1980
** 1975
*** Estimated

Source: Brewers' Society, 1983.

FIGURE 1. RATES OF ALCOHOL PROBLEMS IN BRITAIN

Source: Kilich and Plant 1981

Regional Variations in Britain

It is well documented that officially recorded rates of alcohol-related problems vary considerably between different regions of Britain. Figure 1 presents a summary of these based upon a review of rates of alcohol-related deaths, psychiatric hospital admissions and crimes (Kilich and Plant, 1981: 82).

As Figure 1 indicates, rates of officially recorded alcohol problems are higher in Scotland and in the North of England than they are in Wales or in the South of England. This conclusion is supported by several other authors (Plant and Pirie, 1979; Davies, 1982; Haskey et al., 1983). It has long been assumed by many people that rates of alcohol-related problems are highest in the North of Britain because people there drink more heavily than they do further South. Evidence on this subject is very limited. One survey which was conducted in 1978 indicated that among males there was a higher percentage of "heavy drinkers" in several areas of England than in Scotland and that among females there was as high a percentage of "heavy drinkers" in Wales and in the North West of England as there was in Scotland. These data are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

THE PREVALENCE OF 'HEAVY DRINKING' BY SEX IN DIFFERENT AREAS OF BRITAIN

Area		Males %	Females %
Scotland		29	3
Wales		33	3
England	North	43	1
	Yorkshire and Humberside	28	2
	North West	33	3
	East Midlands	20	1
	West Midlands	30	2
	South West	14	1
	South East	17	1
	East Anglia	16	1

Source: Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, (1980).

The information in Table 2 is perplexing since it does not correspond very closely with the regional rates of alcohol-related problems depicted in Figure 1.

Even so the results shown in Table 2 provide broad support for the view that "heavy drinking" is more commonplace in the North than it is in the South of Britain.

Wilson (1980a) has provided an interesting comparative picture of drinking habits in the four countries included in the UK: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland (Ulster). A more detailed account of drinking habits in England and Wales has also been produced (Wilson, 1980b). The main conclusion from Wilson's study was that drinking habits in Scotland differed very little from those in England and Wales. Even so, Scots had a slightly more concentrated style of drinking than did their southern counterparts. As shown by Table 3 alcohol consumption levels among males in Northern Ireland were different from those in the rest of the UK. In fact, in both the Republic of Ireland (Eire) and the North of Ireland, drinking habits are in several important respects distinct from those in Britain (O'Connor, 1978; Walsh, 1980; Harbison and Haire, 1980; Davies and Walsh, 1983).

TABLE 3

AVERAGE ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM BY SEX

Country	Average previous week's alcohol consumption*	
	Males aged 20 or over	**Females aged 20 or over**
England and Wales	19.6	7.0
Scotland	19.5	6.2
N. Ireland	14.5	6.5

* These are standard units, which are equivalent to 1/2 pint of beer, 1/6 gill of spirits (an English single), a glass of wine (4 fl oz) or a small glass of fortified wine (2 fl oz). This table relates only to drinkers. Each unit contains approximately 1.0 centilitre/7.9 grammes of absolute alcohol.

Source: Wilson, (1980a).

Drinking in Public Bars

Several surveys have provided an indication of the extent to which British alcohol consumption occurs in bars. Two of these surveys related to Scotland (Dight, 1976) and to England and Wales (Wilson, 1980b). Dight's survey of Scottish drinking habits was conducted in 1972 and collected data from 2,453 respondents aged 17 and over. She found that 73 percent of past week's drinking among males

had occurred in public bars and that among females the corresponding proportion was 44 percent. Six years later Wilson collected survey data from 1,998 respondents 18 or older. This study showed that 63 percent of previous week's alcohol consumption among men and 44 percent of that among women had occurred in bars. In addition, both studies showed that among heavy drinkers were those who did the highest proportion of their drinking in bars. Conversely, both studies showed that light drinkers were those most likely to report that a high proportion of their drinking occurred at home. A recent survey conducted during 1982 obtained data from 2,349 people aged 18 or over in three areas of Britain (the Highlands, Tayside and South East Kent). Preliminary analysis of these results revealed that the three areas did differ in some minor respects in relation to the relative importance of drinking venues. Even so the precise relationship between the trivial differences and level of alcohol-related problems appears obscure (Latcham et al., 1984; Crawford et al., 1984).

The Response

The main focus of this review is a recent attempt to change Scottish licensing laws as a means of reducing alcohol-related problems. The rapid increase in such problems in Britain led to the establishment of two separate but similar committees. One of these (the Erroll Committee) related to England and Wales and the second (the Clayson Committee) was concerned with Scotland. Both produced reports which related to the liquor licensing laws (Erroll, 1972; Clayson, 1973). Both documents adopted a "social integrationist" position and recommended several changes in current regulations which were intended to make public drinking a more relaxed and family-oriented activity. Both reports recommended lengthening the hours during which public bars were open. Both also concluded that it was desirable for families including children, to be given greater access to licensed premises. The Erroll Committee also recomended lowering the minimum age at which alcohol might be bought and consumed in bars from 18 to 17. The Clayson Committee, in contrast, did not favour such a change. A comparison of these two reports is intriguing. They were produced independently and yet agreed upon several key issues. Neither was particularly well received. Even so, some of the recommendations of the Clayson Committee have been implemented in Scotland. Since December 1976 licensed premises have been allowed to remain open for an extra hour in the evenings. They originally closed at 10 pm. Subsequently public houses have been able to open on Sundays. This was formerly possible only for bars within hotels. In addition, many "all day licenses" have been granted by the licensing courts which were introduced during 1977. As noted by Saunders (1983):

> There has subsequently developed a widespread belief that these changes have contributed to a more relaxed, sophisticated and civilized style of drinking and the media have been fulsome in their praise of the new legislation. (p. 245).

The Results

The Scottish Home and Health Department commissioned an evaluation of the initial effects of the "liberalisation" of the Scottish licensing laws (Knight and Wilson, 1980). This evaluation was initially designed to monitor the effects

of extending the evening opening hours of bars. It was subsequently adapted to consider the opening of public houses on Sundays. Data were elicited by a follow-up survey of the self-reported alcohol use of a random sample of adults aged 18 or over in the four major cities and in the central belt of Scotland. Three waves of fieldwork were undertaken. The first of these occurred in October and November 1976, before bar opening hours were lengthened. The second occurred in March 1977. This was after the additional hour but before Sunday opening. The third wave of data were collected in November 1978 after both changes had been introduced. Initially 1,656 respondents were interviewed. By the third wave of fieldwork this number was reduced to 1,143 (69%).

Knight and Wilson concluded from this exercise that the extra hour of permitted bar opening did not lead to a significant overall change in alcohol consumption. Sunday opening, however, did lead to some changes.

> Comparison of average consumption before and after Sunday opening shows evidence of an increase in consumption among men aged 45 or younger . . . Other men's consumption marginally decreased after Sunday opening but there was virtually no change in women's consumption.
>
> Changes in consumption after each of the two legislative changes were analysed by social class, marital status and within ten year age groups. The only sub-group with a net increase of more than two standard units was the men aged 18-25 . . . any changes in the licensing laws may have had a greater impact on heavier drinkers than on lighter drinkers. This was confirmed with reference to the increase in consumption by men after Sunday opening in that there was a greater increase among those with the highest average consumption than among those with lower consumption levels. (Knight and Wilson, 1980: vii-viii).

These authors further concluded from their survey data that the rate of drinking in bars slowed a little following the introduction of the extra hour. They also found that alcohol consumption on Sundays rose following the opening of public houses on that day. More of those interviewed approved of these two changes than disapproved of them.

A more recent review of the aftermath of these changes together with the introduction of all-day licenses has been provided by Saunders (1983). Citing an observation study by Davies and Fisher (1980), he asserted that:

> Yet what has happened with all day licensing and . . . with the Sunday opening of public houses, is that the informal social controls have not been built in with the liberalising of the law. From the evidence available to date all that has happened is that traditional styles of drinking have been extended over a longer period. (Saunders, 1983: 247).

Saunders also lamented that by 1979 only 47 of Scotland's 15,800 licensed premises had refreshment licenses which offered facilities for family groups. He further disputed the optimistic interpretations which some people had drawn from a fall in alcohol-related crimes following 1976:

> It should be noted that the convictions for drunkenness and drink/driving were already going down prior to the introduction of the more permissive legislation. (Saunders, 1983: 248).

Saunders concluded:

> In sum therefore it can be argued that there is little substance to the claims that the new licensing law has made the Scots into a nation of controlled drinkers. (ibid: 249).

This assessment has the support of considerable evidence. In fact, the effects of the Scottish experiment have been clouded markedly by the deepening recession which has led to a decrease in both alcohol consumption and some alcohol-related problems, not only in Scotland, but elsewhere. Between 1977 and 1982, per capita UK alcohol consumption rose from 8.9 litres of pure alcohol to 9.4 litres (in 1979). By 1982, it had fallen back to approximately 9.0 litres (Davies, 1982; Abstract of Statistics, 1984).

Recent trends in four indicators of alcohol-related problems are shown in Tables 4 and 5, and in Figures 2 and 3.

As Tables 4 and 5 and Figures 2 and 3 indicate, rates of alcohol-related problems in Britain (and Northern Ireland) have increased considerably since 1970. A comparison of trends since 1977 casts a revealing light upon the "Scottish experiment" described above. As shown by Figure 2, first admissions for "alcoholism"/alcohol dependence and alcoholic psychosis in Scotland fell by 4 percent between 1977 and 1979. Precisely the same happened in England and Wales. Between 1977 and 1981 Scottish rates of liver cirrhosis rose by 34 percent. The corresponding rate south of the Border, as shown in Table 4, rose by 22 percent. As shown by Table 5, drunken driving convictions in Scotland rose by 29 percent between 1977 and 1981, while those in England and Wales rose by 33 percent. In contrast, as indicated by Figure 3, convictions for drunkenness declined by 9 percent in Scotland and by 6 percent in England and Wales during the same period. As noted by Kilich and Plant (1981) the latter offences are defined differently in Scotland than they are in England and Wales. Nevertheless, this comparison of trends is still useful. The pattern of alcohol-related problems since 1977 casts a confusing light upon the Scottish experiment. In relation to three indicators -- psychiatric admissions for alcohol dependence and alcoholic psychosis, drunken driving, and drunkenness -- an almost identical pattern has emerged in Scotland and in England and Wales. In relation to the fourth indicator, liver cirrhosis, the Scottish experience has not been a reassuring one.

Constraint upon Public Policies on Alcohol

It would be unfair to blame the Clayson Committee for the dearth of major benefits which have resulted from the alterations to the licensing laws of Scotland. Social engineering takes time. The Clayson Committee advanced ninety recommendations. The overwhelming majority of these have not been implemented. In consequence, as Saunders has stated, the context of public drinking has not been transformed as the Clayson Committee had wished it to be. Indeed in their 1973 report the Clayson Committee had clearly stated that licensing was only likely to play a limited role in the control of alcohol misuse.

TABLE 4

NUMBER AND RATE OF DEATHS FROM CHRONIC LIVER DISEASE AND CIRRHOSIS, PER 100,000 POPULATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM (1970-1982)

Year	England and Wales		Scotland		Northern Ireland	
	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate
1970	1,392	2.8	239	4.6	39	2.5
1971	1,570	3.2	219	4.2	47	3.0
1972	1,662	3.4	258	5.0	56	3.6
1973	1,804	3.7	264	5.1	66	4.3
1974	1,754	3.6	328	6.3	67	4.3
1975	1,835	3.7	309	5.9	64	4.1
1976	1,890	3.8	319	6.1	80	5.1
1977	1,820	3.7	336	6.5	64	4.2
1978	1,926	3.9	382	7.4	56	3.6
1979	2,186	4.4	431	8.3	59	3.8
1980	2,218	4.5	406	7.8	72	4.6
1981	2,212	4.5	450	8.7	65*	4.2*
1982	2,152	4.4	422	8.2	-	-

* Provisional figure.

Source: Annual Abstract of Statistics (1975, 1981, 1984).
Adapted from Davies (1982).

TABLE 5

PERSONS CONVICTED OF DRUNKEN DRIVING IN BRITAIN (1970–1981)

Year	England and Wales		Scotland	
	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*
1970	26,273	5.4	8,422	16.1
1971	38,774	7.9	9,799	18.8
1972	47,098	9.6	10,170	19.5
1973	55,053	11.2	11,580	22.2
1974	56,153	11.4	12,216	23.4
1975	58,145	11.8	11,706	22.5
1976	49,999	10.2	9,644	18.5
1977	45,369	9.2	8,721	16.8
1978	49,695	10.1	10,489	20.2
1979	56,320	11.4	12,359	23.9
1980	66,394	13.4	12,513	24.2
1981	60,786	12.3	11,244	21.7

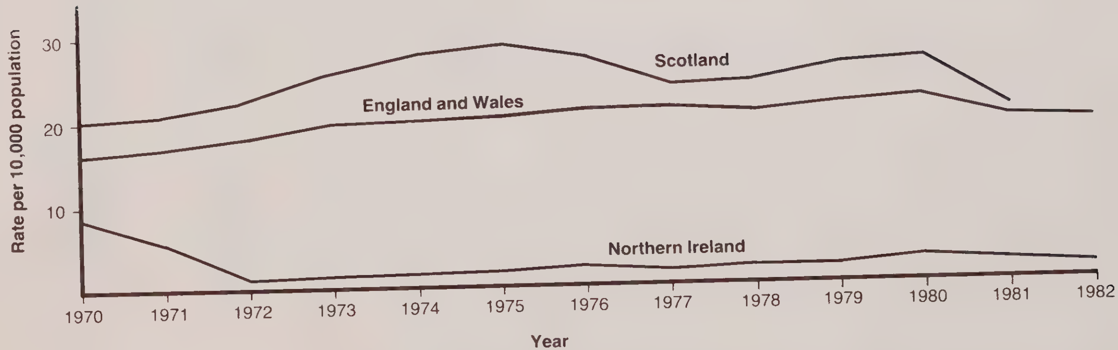
* Rate per 10,000 population.

Source: Annual Abstract of Statistics (1975, 1981, 1984).
Adapted from Davies (1982).

FIGURE 2. FIRST ADMISSIONS TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS FOR ALCOHOLISM/ALCOHOL DEPENDENCE SYNDROME AND ALCOHOLIC PSYCHOSIS IN BRITAIN (1970–1981)

Source: Health and Personal Social Services for England; Health and Personal Social Statistics for Wales, Scottish Health Statistics. Adapted from Davies (1982)

FIGURE 3. PERSONS CONVICTED OF DRUNKENNESS OFFENCES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM (1970–1982)



Source: Annual Abstract of Statistics (1975, 1981, 1984), Brewers Society (1982). Adapted from Davies (1982)

The regional variations in alcohol-related problems in Britain remain an enigma. Two recent studies have examined three areas varying markedly in relation to official rates of alcohol-related morbidity. These concluded that in reality hospital admission rates for alcohol dependence differ very little between these regions and that community drinking patterns and attitudes to drinking and "drunken comportment" also vary very little (Crawford et al., 1984). Very few observation studies have been conducted of public drinking in Britain (Plant et al., 1977; Davies and Fisher, 1980; Aitken and Jahoda, 1983). Far more is known about patterns and trends of public drinking from surveys of the general population (e.g., Edwards et al., 1972; Dight, 1976; Cartwright et al., 1978; Plant and Pirie, 1979; Wilson, 1980a, b; Kendell et al., 1983; Crawford et al., 1984) or of specific sub-groups (e.g., Plant, 1979; Plant et al., 1982).

The British experience has much in common with that elsewhere. The response to rising alcohol misuse has been fragmented and uncertain. In 1979, the Royal College of Psychiatrists recommended:

> Public revenue policies of government should be intentionally employed in the interest of health, so as to ensure that per capita alcohol consumption does not increase beyond the present level, and is by stages brought back to an agreed lower level . . . There should be no further relaxation in the broad range of licensing provisions. (p. 139).

During the same year a confidential report on Alcohol Policies in the United Kingdom was produced by the British Government's Central Policy Review Staff (Think Tank). This document has not been officially made public by either the Labour Government then in power or by their Conservative successors (Central Policy Review Staff, 1979). Even so, complete copies of the report have been made available by Professor Kettil Bruun. These have been printed in Sweden! Britain does not have a "freedom of information law" and the leak of the "Think Tank Report" infringes both Crown Copyright and the Official Secrets Act. Alcohol control policy, in effect, has been elevated to the level of defence secrets. Some of the conclusions in the Think Tank Report closely resembled those reached by the Royal College of Psychiatrists and by several researchers (e.g., Bruun et al., 1979; Kendell, 1979). In particular, the Think Tank Report stated that education cannot be expected to wholly counter alcohol misuse. This view is, sadly, supported by available evidence (Kalb, 1975; Kinder et al.,1980). In addition, the Think Tank Report concluded that alcohol misuse is unlikely to be checked unless the overall level of alcohol consumption is curbed. The Think Tank Report advanced the recommendation that:

> The Government should adopt as an objective that per capita alcohol consumption in the U.K. should not increase. (p. 90).

In addition this Report also concluded:

> There should be an early acknowledgement of the part that alcohol duties play in influencing consumption and so in the long run the prevalence of alcohol-related disabilities . . . As a minimum requirement, the Government should adopt a policy of linking increases in alcohol duties to the Retail Price Index. (p. 91).

The Report indicated its authors' view that the UK Government should reject the Erroll Committee's proposals to grant new licenses and to lower the minimum drinking age. It also suggested that once the effects of the 1976 Scottish extension of bar opening hours had been considered, a reversal of that change should be contemplated.

The only official UK Government response to this debate has been a discussion paper, Drinking Sensibly. This was published in December 1981. This in effect rejected the key recommendations of the Royal College of Psychiatrists and of the Think Tank:

> And it has to be faced that Government controls capable of effectively influencing the minority who misuse alcohol could not be established without affecting the choices available to the majority of the population who drink sensibly. Also, while the misuse of alcohol may cause serious health and social problems, the production of, and trade in, alcoholic drinks, form an important part of our economy in terms of jobs, exports, investment and as a source of revenue for the Government - all of which could be adversely affected by any measures designed to restrict consumption. (Department of Health and Social Security, 1981: 64-65).

Public opinion in Britain, while endorsing measures such as curbs on drunken driving, appears to be generally hostile to the manipulation of price as an alcohol control policy (e.g., M.O.R.I., 1980). This leaves a crucial dilemma which is unresolved. Adjustment of licensing regulations, police policy and other administrative approaches may achieve some improvements in relation to specific types of alcohol misuse (e.g., Jeffs and Saunders, 1983). Even so, economic factors and specifically the real price of alcohol appear to be the major potentially manipulable determinants of alcohol consumption and thereby of alcohol misuse (Davies and Walsh, 1983; Grant et al., 1983).

Conclusion

The general level of alcohol misuse is broadly related to the overall national level of alcohol use. "Normal", "social", "moderate" drinking thereby incurs a heavy price. A constructive response to this, if such a response is to be achieved, involves making public the fact that the level of alcohol-related problems is broadly, if not uniformly, related to the general level of alcohol consumption in a community. Rising alcohol consumption almost invariably involves rising alcohol misuse, which imposes a huge toll on health services and in relation to motor accidents and society at large. A balance needs to be struck and the community as well as public officials have a right to participate if they so wish, in an informed debate about the nature of that balance.

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THE SUBURBAN PUB IN FINLAND - A MALE DOMAIN

Pekka Sulkunen[1]

in collaboration with
Pertti Alasuutari[2], Merja Kinnunen[2] and Ritva Nätkin[2]

Introduction

This is an ethnographic study on suburban pubs of a variety that Walter Clark (1981) would classify as actually being more interested in the world outside of the pub than in what happens inside. Our basic concept is that of homology. This concept has been used by the structuralists for ages, but we particularly picked it up from the British sociology of culture, and especially from Paul Willis' unduly neglected book Profane Culture (1978). Willis, to take just this one important example, has studied "The Motorbike Boys", a quasi-deviant youth group. He interprets their somewhat peculiar ways and manners against the background of the larger culture - a British working class milieu - and observes that many of the strangest ways to handle a motorbike are nothing but expressions and applications of the general principles valued in these people's lives: dexterity, strength, feeling of power over nature, masculinity. Thus the "sub-culture" and the "mother culture" were in a homologous relationship to each other, although the expressions given to this relationship by means of motorbikes, etc. was completely arbitrary. In our study too we have wanted to understand what happens in the pubs in terms of the cultural milieu in which they exist.

The study consists of four elements: (a) casual observations; (b) a study of the juke-box music in the pubs; (c) two case studies of male patrons in two different pubs, one in which drinking was well controlled and the other in which the patrons defined themselves as alcoholics; and (d) thematic interviews with women in the suburbs who have personal contacts with regular patrons of the pub (wives, ex-wives, girlfriends).

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[1] The Social Research Institute of Alcohol Studies (Helsinki).

[2] The Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies (Helsinki) and the University of Tampere, Finland.

The Observation Study: Pub Culture as an Articulation of Suburban Life

The observations were made in the Helsinki area, the other parts in two suburbs of Tampere - an old industrial town of about 150,000 inhabitants.

The suburban pub is a new institution in Finland and it exists in a world of rapid cultural transition. The control system long excluded lower class restaurants from the market and it was only during the rather recent period of liberalization (1966-1974) that licences were granted to such outlets. The suburbs, on the other hand, were the solution to a severe housing problem that arose from a very quick transition from an agricultural to an urban-based economy, which was at its most intensive phase during the same period. Women's employment outside the home increased rapidly in the new suburbs, and therefore also the family culture faced a period of adjustment.

The suburban pubs have a variety of functions, and they were originally intended to fill the basic needs for catering services in their neighbourhood. However, they are invariably dominated by male patrons in terms of the norms and values prevailing within the walls of the pub. Women are welcome, but they are expected to respect the male dominance. This will be indicated to them by the practices of flirting, by more severe control of their behaviour and sometimes even by outright humiliation. Thus the attitudes toward the pubs are sex-specific and therefore the study also included a "women's perspective" - two female researchers interviewed the women in the suburbs, some of the results being reported in Ritva Nätkin's paper in this volume.

The first substantial finding of the study was that the pubs were generally seen very negatively by the suburbanites. When asked more closely about it, people mentioned things like "dirty", "noisy", "full of smoke", "everyone talks to everyone", "I would not even go there for dinner", "inconsequential talk", "useless waste of time", "a place where the social cases meet". It seems that they thus mentioned many of the things that they value in decent suburban life: clean homes, aims and purposefulness in life, privacy, the functions of the home (nourishment, recreation). They use the pub as a negative articulation of the suburban way of life - even those who sometimes go there do this.

The pub itself and the patrons there are conscious of this negative relationship between the pub and normality: home, work and the regulated time structure that develops between these two poles in suburban life. But in the pub this articulating role is turned into a positive one - a laugh. Laughter is the essential form of expression in the pub, indicating the togetherness of the patrons and their "timeout" from the routines of normality.

The tension between the home and the pub is expressed in the hierarchical ecology of the premises (dining room versus the saloon), in the jokes around the walls and in the menus as well as in the very names of the establishments.

It is paradoxical, however, that the social relationships in the pubs, as reflected in what the patrons describe as ideals for the doorman and for the waitresses, bear a resemblance to the home. The doorman is expected to be like "a nice father" and he will have the unquestionably highest status of all present if he can act according to these expectations. On the other hand, each waitress is expected to be like the ideal wife, and should she sometimes neglect her duties, like cleaning the tables, this expectation will be clearly acted out on her.

Real Stories for a Mark: The Juke-box Tells about Life

The pub is a divorce institution. This was first brought to our attention when we analyzed the songs that are most frequently played in the juke-boxes of typical pubs. The themes of the songs almost exclusively dealt with the happiness of love and the misery of not being loved. Each song concentrates on only one phase of a relationship, be it initial desire, fulfillment of first love, love in marriage, separation, or - and this is also included in the series of songs - a new love. But all other phases of the relationship are implicitly present. Love songs express the deepness of the feeling by referring to separation; separation songs refer back to the happiness of love; and marriage songs compare the continuation of love to its beginning and to its possible tragic end. The conclusion drawn from this is that, in the pub context, the theme of separation (divorce) and falling in love is pervading the listeners' minds. Love is seen as a process - its crises and its termination are accounted for as possibilities although its lasting quality is highly valued. Love is even seen as "eternal" in the sense that it is spoken of as destiny, a predestination that even has a subject, a god whose name is never expressed but whose existence is recognized. Hence the religious overtone in the words of pub-songs. Their music also has close affinities to church music.

The words of the songs are exclusively in the form of a dialogue with only one party. The "me" talks to an imagined "you". This is the form of the so-called "inner talk".

The songs can be divided into two categories, one in which the "me" of the song is a woman and the other in which the "me" is a man. A comparison of these songs gives a picture of the stereotypes that characterize masculinity and femininity. As regards the theme of love there was no surprise. The woman-"me" usually says something like "Come and take me - I desire you". The man-"me" stresses his want and determination: "I want you - I'll make you happy".

The songs of separation, on the other hand, struck us by a remarkable difference between the male-"me" and the female-"me". Whereas the man complains about his destiny and regrets his tragedy, fully accepting his guilt, the woman serenely thanks God she is free again and she evaluates the past as a regrettable but educating experience. Whereas the man blames himself for this failure the woman explains the separation by the fact that he and she never were made for each other in the first place.

The interpretation of this difference is complex, because it must account not only for the fact that the songs' subjects have different sexes but also for the fact that the songs will be listened to in the pub both by men and by women. It is hardly a question of a genuine difference between the male culture and the female culture. Rather, in the world of shared values the respective roles of man and woman imply different reactions to marital failure. Since man has the more active part in the relationship to begin with, it is his responsibility to keep it intact. If he fails, he should be guilty. Furthermore, he is and he should be jealous and envious of the woman who now no longer is dependent on him.

On Leave from Home: The Dart Club

The first of our case studies concerned a male dart club in a local pub in Tampere. The size of the group varied, consisting of about a dozen

"professionals", two dozen amateurs and a few juniors. The first group is the core of the club, representing it in competitions with other clubs, the rest being less involved in the dart game yet participating in it any time they are in the pub. The members of the group visit the pub several times a week, invariably on Saturdays when they have a formal competition.

The dart club's reflections on their hobby, extracted from group interviews, centered around four themes or "elements" as they are called in the cultural theory adopted in this study: performance orientation, controlled drinking, amicability and independence.

Performance orientation refers to the value placed on active life. The patrons opposed their pub-going to quiet family life, which they did not consider very manly. Throwing darts was to them an important motive for patronage because it gave them something to do with other men. Listening to the music, dancing or simply talking was not enough for them. Although the sociability around the game of darts was important in giving them an opportunity to exchange news and opinions, the skill demonstrated in the game and the excitement derived from it was the essential element that they emphasized as their motive for spending so much time in the pub.

Controlled drinking does not mean that the participants would not sometimes get intoxicated, and their weekly consumption may be as high as fifteen or twenty pints of the relatively strong Finnish beer. The men belittle their alcohol consumption and say that they restrict it to the dart throwing occasions. For example, they rarely drink at home at all, and they do not like to drink in restaurants or bars where they have no friends and where there is no dart game. On the other hand they like to exaggerate the amount of money spent on beer, saying that their life is not meant for accumulation of wealth. The dart game itself controls their drinking because a drunken person is not appreciated as a game partner - he would not be interesting from the point of view of the challenge that is needed for the excitement of the game. The men are conscious of the dangers of alcoholism but they consider themselves capable of keeping their drinking under control. As in LeMasters' (1974) study, being able to take care of one's job is a criterion for not being a drunkard.

Amicability refers to a conscious effort to avoid controversial issues in conversation, to the point that even politics is mostly excluded as a subject. The dart boys consider the regulars who only talk and quarrel, often just about politics, at the tables in the seating area, as loafers. They try to teach the juniors good manners and intervene whenever anyone from outside the group intends an assault or insults anyone among them. Amicability and friendship is explicitly described as the best part of the dart sociability.

Independence also means much to these patrons. It is protected vis-a-vis the personnel and the management of the pub as regards the rights of the dart club. For example, they may boycott the pub if it does not provide adequate facilities for the game, such as the darts and the board. In this they behave much as a trade union towards the employer. But they also demonstrate their independence vis-à-vis each other. Rounds are not often bought and each one is responsible for his own consumption. They may sometimes borrow money for a very short time from each other, but they take great pride in being able to pay back within the agreed time. Also, they never agree to meet in the pub at

certain hours. Each one is free to drop in at any time when he feels like it, and if the buddies are not there he also will go home.

When investigated about their way of life, it appeared that the features in the pub culture described above were indeed homologous articulations of it. The patrons are highly skilled workers who appreciate their jobs and the exceptional qualifications that are required of them. They are molders of nature: they produce good things with their hands and brains with the help of complicated machinery. They do not appreciate intellectual or office work, not because they would devalue education or intelligence as such but rather because intellectuals detached from actual production are seen by them as stupid and impractical. In fact their work requires not only experience and manual skills but also the skills of the head, especially an ability to count fast and accurately - just the same features as are essential in the dart game.

They also value their great independence at work. Although they work with machines they are not tied to them and they control the rhythm of work themselves. They dislike to the utmost any undue control by the management. For them, the most negative aspect of working is that they have to do it and that they are regulated by the working hours.

The men have loyal relationships in work at the shopfloor level. They do not compete with each other, but they regard it as degrading to cheat - fair play and functional performance are their unquestioned values. Hence their suspiciousness towards politics and union leadership. They see politics and the unions as necessary, but they are critical of the one-upmanship involved. They often speak about politicians as second class workers who are striving for social status not by actual performances in production but by deceitful methods. Themselves, the dart boys are not interested in social ascendancy. Their salaries are as good as most of their middle class superiors', and although they often regret "having left school too early" many of them would not be making as much money now even after a long academic training.

When talking about family life these patrons express a profound consciousness about sex roles. They are aware of the changes occurring in the respective responsibilities of men and women that result from the increase in women's participation in the wage labour market. They even admit the need to take on a portion of the housework when the wife alone cannot do it; fundamentally, however, they think that it is the woman's responsibility to take care of the home. If the husband assists he prefers to do it by preparing food rather than doing the "maintenance work" of cleaning and laundering. The men's reluctance to do housework is partly due to their feelings of inability and helplessness, but the crucial factor is nevertheless that they consider housework as feminine. As they are not aware of the household's requirements, their women must consistently remind them, ask them, or even require them to do certain things like beating the rugs or hanging the laundry. The men easily interpret this as a loss of freedom and being under control. Going to the pub is, even when not a direct repudiation, a symbol of masculine liberty from the female world. What is perhaps even more important, it is a ritual of male solidarity that is performed in the safe confines of the masculine community of the pub that is largely untouched still by the cultural changes taking place in the relationships between the sexes.

In conclusion, then, the first case study showed that the dart club culture articulates in its elements most of the aspects in the way of life of the patrons, but only on the pleasurable side. Performance orientation, controlled drinking, amicability and independence are the most important enjoyable features of pub-going for them, and these are homologous to the most important aspects of their masculine identity: skill in manual work, resistance to control, shop-floor solidarity and honesty, and freedom in family relationships.

After the Leave: The Wives' View

The first case study gave a very idyllic description of the pub culture. This was the result of having chosen this particular type of group as the object of study, and therefore we decided to add another case of a pub that was more wet and whose regulars would be more aged and at an advanced stage of their drinking careers. We also wanted to verify the idyllic results by asking the dart throwers' wives about their husbands' hobby. For getting interviews from the wives, the researchers went back a year later and found, first of all, that the men did not want their wives interviewed, and secondly, that several of them had either divorced or lived through a severe family crisis. In a couple of these cases, the divorce procedures had been instigated by the wife right after the interviewing for the first case study had been undertaken, but at that time there had been no trouble in sight - as far as the men could see. Women were searched for interviewing nevertheless in the same suburb "par hasard". The pub was a difficult subject for those who had any contact with it, except that divorced women were very willing to talk about it and its role in the family life. About thirty women were interviewed but not all were willing to talk much, about the subject. The following synopsis presents the pub as seen by those who do feel strongly about it in a negative way.

It appeared that the women have an entirely different view of the pub than the dart boys. And it is far from being idyllic.

First, they do not understand it. They do agree that their men need some freedom to be with other men, but the dart game does not make much sense to them. One divorced wife said that it would make just as much sense if she went out to throw boots in the street on a Sunday morning. They see drinking as a much more important element in their husbands' pub-going than the husbands themselves. They also suspect, in our opinion wrongly, that the men go to the pub to meet other women there, and were thus jealous.

Secondly, they do not seem to enjoy the control function that they have with respect to the household and the family respectability, as their husbands had believed and led us to believe too. In Finnish literature on the present-day family problems, it is often assumed that the traditional division of labour in the home leads to a marginalization of the men as they have little to do in the house, because the traditional men's work (repairing and construction) is scarce in suburban apartments which are too "ready made". The greater economic independence of women has been said to give rise to a modern matriarchate, where the woman not only dominates the household and disciplines the husband but also carries a large part of the economic responsibilities as well. But, according to our interviews, the women do not experience this as a power position at all, on the contrary they see their new role as binding and as a burden

on their own freedom. Especially the divorced women whose ex-husbands have been heavy drinkers underline that the drinking man exercises tremendous power over the wife by leaving her alone with the everyday responsibilities in the home and with the children.

Thirdly, the women feel that the men's pub-going isolates them socially. When asked why they most dislike their husbands' drinking, they surprisingly often say that it is not the money spent on alcohol. But it is not enough for the women that the man brings money home - they also want the man himself there. This is not because they would like to go out more themselves, which they could do if the man would do more housework and look after the children. The women like to have a nice home and spend their time there, but they also want adult company to do this with. In the suburban social structure that is based on isolated nuclear families the only readily available companion is the spouse. The wives understand that "most men are crazy" in one way or another. Some are crazy about sports, others are crazy about cars or horses, some about work. This already isolates the wives, but they can always, to some extent, resort to neighbours and to relatives for adult company in these cases. When the man is crazy about going to the pub, even this is difficult, because it is so shameful to admit there is reason for loneliness. Drinking is surrounded by a strong moral barrier in the moral community of a suburb. Gossiping, breaking off contacts, and outright nasty remarks put the drinking man's wife in a shameful situation, especially if the man drinks in public. Shame and loss of self-respect are the topmost feelings expressed by divorced women when they tell about the time before the marital crisis broke out in the open. On the other hand they are relieved and happy when the divorce is over and they are no longer responsible for their husbands' behaviour. This may be the reason why it was so difficult to interview women whose husbands went to the pub and why the divorced were so willing to tell about their experiences.

In conclusion, the women seem to be living in a paradox. Their view of the good life implies that they should take care of the family and the home, and they gladly work for this ideal although it may mean a double working day for them. If the man is much away from home they do feel this is a limitation of their own free time, but their main concern is not the opportunity of going out more themselves. Rather they would like to spend more time with the whole family. Thus they have a feeling of being obliged to do what they would otherwise like to do, and this happens also when the man is there but attempts to isolate himself by watching TV or by reading the newspapers. This paradox is severely aggravated if the man is away because he likes to spend his time in the pub, because then the woman is not only forced to bear her role but also becomes socially isolated from the few adult contacts that she might otherwise have in the community.

To Be a Drunkard

The second case study was done in a pub which had a clientele much more severely alcoholized. The group studied was much larger and much looser, and thus no group interviews were possible. The regular patrons of this group were older than in the first case; they usually had experienced at least one divorce, but they too were manual workers. Some women belonged to this group and they were heavy drinkers like their male companions.

The second pub had also had a dart club a few years earlier but it had broken up when its members got older and some of them were known to have divorced. We do not wish to draw any causal conclusions of what we have been told about this as regards the role of the dart game in the process of family troubles. But on the level of the pub it is possible that there is a life cycle in which a place starts as rather idyllic. Gradually, in the course of about five years, it degenerates into a watering hole until it will be renovated and the clientele will again be changed.

The interviews of these regulars revealed a complicated transformation of the elements that articulated the masculine working man's culture in the dart club. The basic difference is that here the booze is the major device through which people talk about their lives and their conception of the world.

These regulars too appreciate manual work and dexterity. They have the same conception of the middle class as unnecessary social climbers. Whereas the dart boys were proud of being able to control their drinking and of not being necessarily intoxicated while they drank, the "junipers", as they will be called after the invented name of the second pub, take intoxication for granted. Nevertheless, also for them the criterion of not being alcoholic is to keep one's job. They praise their drinking partners who can spend a whole evening in the pub but still go to work in the morning.

The junipers too have a performance orientation, but for them its object is drinking. They count drinks - as they count everything else - and are proud of the high quantities they can take. A person who gets drunk on what they consider little is seen as unmanly and weak. Whereas the dart boys expressed their performance orientation by excelling in the game, the junipers do it by excelling in conversation. Exact numerical knowledge on almost any subject of conversation is a sign of dexterity, as well as a good memory of names. Thus the popularity of sports as a subject. The typical conversation among these patrons resembles a quiz contest, where status is given as reward for those who know the answers to the weirdest questions. Sometimes they even go home to look up the answer in an encyclopedia in cases of dispute. The ability to tell humorous stories is, of course, also well appreciated.

The performance orientation is also applied to men's relations with women. Women are often compared with machines and the ability to "handle" them is seen as very manly.

Friendship and amicability are also important in the sociability of this group, but the basis of solidarity is the ability to drink and socialize well with the other patrons. Their relationships with the personnel are familiar and obedient, although the waitresses here too are reminded of their duties if they do not come fast enough to serve at tables.

The most peculiar transformation of the elements characteristic of the dart club concerns the feeling of independence. Whereas, in the first case study, independence was felt with respect to the constraints of family life, domination at work, or relations with the pub's personnel and other patrons, here it is understood as man's right to follow his natural urge towards excitement and adventure. Man's nature is felt to be inherent in him and it is not manly to resist it. This is in harmony with these men's identity as heavy drinkers. They consider it to be a fact of nature, a predestination about which nothing can be done.

Whereas the dart boys emphasize their ability to command their own lives, the junipers experience a certain sense of freedom by drinking as much as their "nature tells them to do".

The junipers invariably tell stories -- true or false -- about their first "bang" with alcohol that was caused by an exterior incident like a car accident, loss of job for unjust reasons, or business failure (many of these patrons have tried a life as entrepreneurs in small construction businesses). The AA philosophy about alcoholism suits these men's way of seeing the world and their own alcohol problem perfectly well, and those who have been in treatment in A-clinics have really felt at home there.

This natural urge is felt to be very binding on their personalities. So much so that the obligation to control one's drinking is completely externalized. If a man has a wife or a girlfriend it is no longer shameful for him if she comes to the pub to make him go home. The waitress has the same function whenever the state of intoxication approaches a dangerous level. The waitresses say that the regulars in this pub are very obedient in this respect. Sometimes they may even ask the waitress early in the evening to refuse them alcohol after a certain fixed amount. Of course the amount of money available can also be a limit. But there is a norm according to which it is not honorable to stop and go home "before the job is done or the shift ends" in one form or another.

Conclusions

Although the suburban pub does serve a variety of functions and is frequented by a diversity of local people, it is a male-dominated territory of regulars. This puts a moral barrier around it that is very difficult to break. The pub is in many ways the opposite of the home and of decent suburban life. The tension between the home and the pub is especially felt by women, for whom men's drinking there is an isolating and distressing experience.

Yet the pub is not to blame for the frequent marital problems found in the suburbs although it does play a role. It could be said that the pub is only one of the many possible articulations for the structural difficulty of sexual relationships in this social context. The difficulty arises from both the man's and the woman's attempt to fulfill their respective roles. When a man is a man he wants to be with other men. When a woman is a woman she wants to be at home. In the isolated nuclear family this separates them and isolates the woman, and this is the basic cause of their dissatisfaction. Paradoxically, then, it is not the existence of the masculine community in the pub that is the main problem. It is the non-existence of female communities in the home territory.

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THE SUBURBAN PUB IN FINLAND - THE WOMEN'S VIEWPOINT

Ritva Nätkin*

The Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies is financing an ongoing venture known as the Suburban Pub Research Project. Part of the project is the Women and the Suburban Pub Study which aims at illuminating women's relationship to the prevalent alcohol culture, be they pub patrons or not. Our study consequently focusses on the suburb as a whole, on its inhabitants and families - we have gone from door to door in the suburbs and thus gained an impression of the local pub from an everyday point of view.

The goals and themes of conventional alcohol research tend to ignore and exclude women, the rationale being that since women are by and large non-users, they therefore have no ties to alcohol culture. This way of thinking has been criticized (see e.g. Järvinen, 1982; Honkasalo, 1982; Ahlström, 1983). But the conventional stance mirrors a more general attitude in social research. Studies tend to concentrate on production and the culture of work - and to regard alcohol use as an aspect of working class culture, for instance. Reproduction and everyday life have received far less attention, remaining "invisible" if not unequivocally meaningless.

My contention will be that what we are concerned with, to a great extent, is the power structure of the societal division of labour and the everyday life of the family. Looking at matters from the point of view of alcohol culture, this implies that the drinking of the men who go to the pub is founded on the home to which they can always return. Traditional masculine alcohol culture presupposes the existence of a "home". Indeed, "home", "boozer" - and "marriage", too - are institutions which determine the relationship between the genders and govern the use of alcohol. The aim of our study, then, is to render the invisible visible and to examine the behaviour of women in relation to their culture. Our original intention was to search for "the wives on the far side of the dart-board", but we also found the divorced women. And from the standpoint of our study, these divorced women form an interesting group who personify a desire for change.

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* Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, Helsinki, Finland.

Merja Kinnunen has acted as research assistant and second interviewer. "Women and the Suburban Pub" was preceded by a study by Pertti Alasuutari and Jorma Siltari entitled "The Citadel of Masculine Freedom. A Study of the Darts Culture of a Suburban Pub" (1983). Available in Finnish only.

The Feminine World of Experience

We found the feminine and masculine worlds of experience to be remarkably different. The two genders often describe the same situation in different ways and hold different opinions about it. They are liable to disagree about when a man's drinking has reached such a stage that he may be described as alcoholic, and when a husband's boozing will make life intolerable for his wife and family, for example. Women pay far more attention to human relationships; they are closer to the family and more sensitive to neighbourhood social pressure. When women go out to a pub, the things they tend to appreciate are getting to know people, dancing and music. They can rarely see much point in just sitting, drinking and playing games like darts.

The divorce process makes this disparity in the genders' worlds of experience very evident. It is quite clear that it is the women who have the greatest desire for change - the wife usually instigates divorce proceedings, whereas the husband drifts into the breakdown of the marriage. The interviews showed that men's and women's attitudes towards divorce are not the same. The women talked a great deal about what they had gone through and their disappointments, often with deep feeling. The men, however, frequently seemed to think of their divorce and the events which surrounded it as somehow fated -it just "happened that way" and there was nothing to be done about it.

The pub culture also reflects the difference between the masculine and feminine experience. Men apparently exist on a symbolic plane in the pub. There is a great deal of humour and game playing between them, and should one begin to talk about his feelings, he is soon told to "let it rest". But women, on the other hand, want to talk about human relationships; they are eager listeners and often tell one another the stories of their lives.

In a sense, the suburban pub is a stage where marital problems are enacted. The waitresses feel this and consider themselves in touch with "life's deep questions" -- they may even shoulder a certain degree of responsibility for the fate of some patrons. The pub juke box has a great many songs about divorce and these are very often played. The lyrics bring the relationship between the genders and the problems of people's private lives out into the open, and the language used is very similar to the phrases heard in suburban kitchens. What is especially interesting is the fact that the men's "divorce ballads" have a certain atmosphere of guiltiness and an acceptance of fate. They enquire "what went wrong?" and talk about losing the "trump cards of life". The songs sung by women are different, more aggressive or straightforward. The questions they pose are "why did I have to get married at all?" and so on, though marriage is sometimes admitted to have "at least been an experience which taught me something". These songs portray women as more aware than the lyrics of most conventional light music. And these songs are particularly popular with women who have crossed the threshold of the pub and entered the "citadel of masculine freedom".

Marriage and Pub Culture

I shall now try to analyze what kind of structure the institution of marriage represents from the point of view of alcohol culture. I shall also attempt to describe the pressures which are nowadays pushing marriage into crisis and

leading to divorce. Traditionally, women have had an external relationship to alcohol culture. Looking at matters from the viewpoint of masculine drunkenness, women are the agents who transmit the constraints of everyday life and society. Women are thus instruments of control (see Falk and Sulkunen, 1980). This mirrors the power and control structures of conventional marriage. The traditional woman's role is that she must act as both wife and mother and fulfil her reproductive responsibilities - maintain the home, take care of the children and bring them up, and provide the husband with a place he can return to after his "adventures". In other words, the wife is her husband's backbone. Pertti Alasuutari's study (Alasuutari and Siltari, 1983) puts it another way. Men allow their wives or the waitresses to control their drinking, thereby delegating to women the responsibility for ensuring they retain their capacity to work and function as social beings.

The result of this has been that women's own cultural identity has seen women as morally superior to men. Wives have nursed, taken care of and made allowances for their husbands' drinking and other escapades because their burden of responsibility has made them feel morally pre-eminent.

The remarks about the structure of marriage which I have just made have taken the control structures of marriage and the relationship between the sexes as "natural". Nevertheless, my examination is more of a cross-sectional abstraction and should not be considered a supra-historical or eternal analysis of the relationship of the genders. It is a model of the identity structure of conventional marriage and no more.

The feminine cultural identity views the relationship between the genders in the following light:

	Men	Women
"Culture"	financial responsibility leader father	reproductive duties maternal role household tasks
"Nature"	adventurous boyish big child	adaptable flexible self-sacrificing

In conventional models of marriage, the husband is the provider and shoulders the financial responsibility. He mediates his wife's "nature", furnishing his wife's uncivilized lack of independence with respectable conditions where she can realize her desires to surrender, adapt and sacrifice herself. The woman, on the other hand, is the one who bears the responsibility for reproduction and thus "domesticates" her husband's "untamed" nature which manifests itself in his various adventures, attraction to alcohol and various transgressions of social

propriety. As men come to drink more, their desire for adventure is transformed into a need to be taken care of and the responsibility the wife shoulders grows. Motherhood is one of the most abiding aspects of the feminine identity and women still feel they are closer to the family than men. "A woman's more of a mother than a man's a father" is how one of the interviewees put it.

Our society - and the modern suburb is no exception - tolerates men's "unruliness", their drinking and their transgressions of social boundaries, far more than women's. The institution of the conventional pub, "the citadel of masculine freedom", has formalized this state of affairs and made it accepted; it has institutionalized masculine "unruliness" and "passions". Except for the waitresses who act as agents of control, the only women the traditional pub needs are "fallen" ones. These "fallen" women are seen as people who have allowed their "wildness" to gain the upper hand and are not therefore considered respectable members of the "female sex". Still, the pub community provides them with a position or status of their own: they become the objects of masculine "passion". Indeed, in a sense the institutions of marriage and the pub are two sides of the same coin - from the woman's point of view, the one excludes the other. Even today pub culture is imbued with the feeling that "good wives don't go to the boozer". Nevertheless, the pub institution has changed in some respects. More and more pubs now put on dances and this has given them a wider female clientele - dancing is an integral part of the pub culture of women today.

The Crisis of Marriage

What is plunging the conventional marriage into crisis? The answer is simple. Women are no longer prepared to accept their traditional role as the transmitters of the constraints of everyday life, society, and control. One of the divorced women we interviewed was formerly married to a man who was one of the suburban pub's most regular patrons; she talked about how she had discussed his drinking with her mother-in-law. The mother-in-law maintained that the wife should put up with the husband's boozing, saying "if the husband does his work and holds on to his job alright, you've got a lot to be thankful for". The divorced woman was younger and had different opinions - "It's not enough for me". What is involved here is a major cultural change, or a move towards one at the very least: the influx of women to the wage labour market means that they are now able to shoulder the duties of guardianship and financial responsibility. Nowadays women can make ends meet economically and care for children even if a divorce does occur.

Divorce is part of the everyday life of today's suburb, and the local pub is one of the stages where marital crises are played out. And crisis is the hallmark of the conventional marriage model and the traditional alcohol culture. The suburb-dwellers we interviewed summed up the present state of affairs by saying that if the husband is a regular pub-goer for five years, divorce will follow. Women feel that cases where men drink a great deal are extremely repressive and stressing.

One of the traditions of Finnish culture is that in families where the husband is a heavy drinker or alcoholic, the wife's role as an agent of control will be emphasized (she will become a truly terrible "shrew"). The husband, on the

other hand, is permitted to behave entirely irresponsibly and completely surrender to his "nature", be it the attraction of alcohol or whatever. Kortteinen's suburb study (1982) shows that the new generation who live in the suburbs also evince this pattern; husbands tend to be incarnations of Finland's Spede Pasanen's exceedingly popular film character, Turhapuro (Kortteinen, 1983). Kortteinen maintains that the suburban wife who looks after her husband and controls him is in a strong position and "onto a good thing". She has no difficulties in her move from the countryside to the culture of suburbia, her family and housework provide her with rewarding work. But her husband, in Kortteinen's opinion, is not so happily placed: the cultural changes he goes through cause him to lose his footing in the family. Kortteinen talks of the "crisis of the patriarchal family", but whilst one may be prepared to admit the difficulties men face in adapting themselves and the drinking problems they have, it is another matter altogether to speak of the power women hold and "latent matriarchy" (see Kortteinen, 1982).

Notwithstanding, clinical psychology and psychiatry reverberate with echoes of such attitudes. The debate about the "alcoholic's wife" is familiar to all who work in the field of alcohol rehabilitation or follow alcohol research. Clinical studies have shown that there is a link between how controlling and maternal a wife is and how her husband drinks. The wife exercises power in mollycoddling her husband, and he takes to drink in retaliation - the wife is therefore "to blame" (see Seilhamer and Seilhamer, 1982). And as if this were not enough, matters are mystified still further by remarks about the dependency between spouses and their "need" to dominate each other. The comparatively new work, Social Psychology, edited by Alanen is a case in point (1978, 269): "The man who will become an alcoholic will choose a dominating and mollycoddling woman who resembles his mother for his wife. His role in the family will then be a subjugated child's. This, on the one hand, will satisfy his desires for passive dependency, but on the other will also prevent him from expressing aggressiveness except through drinking and its consequences." An additional comment about the wife observes that a "pathological family situation usually serves the needs of the spouse, too".

The attitude of these studies towards the position of women and women's cultural identity is very confused. Even those women who are married to alcoholics have to conform to the cultural power structures which the societal division of labour transforms into family and marital relationships. Production and reproduction are connected by a power structure which also manifests itself within the family (see e.g. Haavind, 1982). The husband who uses alcohol uses power as well - he passes control and responsibility for everyday matters, children and his own drinking over to his wife.

When interviewed after their divorces, women who had previously been married to heavy drinkers described their plight as repressive in the extreme, mentioning that they sometimes became ill or took to drinking themselves as a result. With hindsight, they felt their flexibility to have been incomprehensible. They asked themselves and the interviewer "Why does anyone bow down and take so much?" and then supplied the answer: "For the sake of the kids". The women also analyzed themselves, saying that "my self-pity knew no bounds". Nevertheless, it was often not until the children had grown up and demanded a divorce themselves - or been mistreated in some way - that the final step of instigating divorce proceedings was taken.

We found that divorced women discuss and analyze marriage more than women who are still married. Quite often, the marital power structure does not become visible until after the marriage has been dissolved. Divorced women possess a cultural identity whose structure is a kind of mirror image of the structure of marriage. The foundations of marriage are in a crisis where any man a divorced woman considers as a replacement is unlikely to be much different from her previous husband. Matters are exacerbated by the fact that "motherhood" remains an integral facet of the feminine cultural identity, as do the stressing of reproduction and a feeling that women are morally superior to men. But divorced women want to emphasize the greater independence they now have compared to their married days. And they also wish to break the conventional alcohol culture norms: they want to go to pubs and they want to do so "on their own terms". The rules of the alcohol culture say that the woman in a pub must either be "fallen", a failure as a woman or there as an institutionalized agent of control. This is what divorced women feel should be changed: they want to go to pubs and be "friends" and "companions" with the men.

It is thus impossible to understand the crisis of marriage without analyzing the marriage institution's power and control structures. The dissatisfaction women feel with the married state - especially as far as their role as agents of control is concerned - means that ideas of the "power" women have in drinking problem families should be viewed with scepticism at the very least. As Alasuutari's contribution to the research project shows, drinking is a key element of the masculine cultural identity, but the "exercise of power" is far from central to the cultural identity of women.

Suburbia - A Social Context for a Changing Alcohol Culture

The modern suburb is an intriguing social context, the setting for the formation of the feminine and masculine identities. If we look at matters from the woman's point of view, we find that the everyday life of the suburb abounds in conflict and contradiction, sometimes occurring between different groups of women. This is a reflection of the fact that contemporary suburban culture is an arena where the old institutions and pressures for change exist side by side.

Single parents and divorced women constitute one of the most potent agents of change acting in the modern suburb. And there are more single parents and divorced women in the particular suburb of Tampere we are concerned with, proportionally, than in Tampere as a whole - thanks to "social housing". Marital conflicts and the mother on her own are topics which the suburb discusses day in, day out and uses as a basis for social labelling, especially if excessive drinking is involved. Our Tampere suburb is not a dormitory suburb, at least in the sense that its inhabitants do feel some measure of community spirit. But as there is a shortage of places to which everyone can go and do things together, the community spirit tends to centre around family life, leisure, and common topics of discussion.

We refer to the suburb's brand of togetherness as "moral communion", for the reason that it sets such great store in "good citizenship" and "decent" ways of life - especially where the family is concerned. This "moral communion", however, is largely a negative matter and depends on "nosey parkers" more than common goals of action. The aspects of family life which moral control places a

premium on are reproduction and the relationship between the spouses. The suburb is always ready to comment when things go wrong. Furthermore, nowadays there is no obviously "right family way of life", and so people tend to defend their own behaviour by passing disparaging comments on the way in which single parents and other "socially disreputable" elements live (see also Kortteinen, 1982). The local pub and drinking form the common denominator of the entire spectrum of "social pariahood", owing to the unidimensional character of Finland's alcohol culture (see Falk and Sulkunen, 1981).

Marriage does more than just set the pattern for how women and men should live together. It is the cornerstone of the entire social order. Possessing a faultless marriage and having a trouble-free family life means that one has already met some of the most important criteria for "social respectability". And, inside marriage, it is largely the wife's task to provide her immediate neighbourhood with a picture of her family life and her husband's social status. The husband does not stand outside the strictures of the moral community, but he does delegate the responsibility for upholding the social order and family ties to his wife. These duties belong to women as a whole, and to particular occupational groups of women in the suburb.

The suburban "moral communion" is upheld by people who do not leave the suburb during the daytime, who do not have to go elsewhere to work. To some extent, this group is made up of people who have no place on the labour market, such as housewives, pensioners, and so on. Indeed, others often think that these people have nothing else to do except fail to mind their own business - or uphold the suburb's moral cohesion, to put it another way. There are also some women's occupations, such as being a child-minder or a waitress in the local pub, where the suburb is the work place and the job description is providing services for other suburb-dwellers. These occupations have aspects which are coloured by control and supervision duties and help to maintain suburban morality.

The people seen discussing family matters in the courtyards of the suburb's blocks of flats are invariably housewives and child-minders. Their work is looking after and bringing up children, attending to other everyday family routines and reproduction in general. They discuss marital relationships and other human ties, but their professional duties also include supporting the established family and the institution of marriage. The work done by child-minders is thus an intriguing instance of "semi-professionalized" or "semi-officialized" traditional women's work. Child-minders work in their own home and courtyard. Their job demands that they hold to the norms of "respectability": the children must be taken out and fed in accordance with a fixed, regular timetable, and the child-minder may have no family problems of her own. Indeed, in her private life she is under pressure to be a kind of "official ideal family". And then the very position of child-minders puts them in a dilemma: while they are paid by the Welfare State - the Local Authority - and are also under its control and supervision, their conditions of employment leave much to be desired. Even their salaries can fluctuate from one month to the next, depending on whether the suburb's families bring their children to be looked after, or not. What "semi-professionalism" actually means to the child-minder, therefore, is that one half of her work is traditional unpaid women's work, while the other half is "paid" wage labour (see e.g. Waerness, 1982).

Those women we interviewed who were the subjects of discussion or scandal felt that the way in which human relationships were talked about in the courtyards was negative and had a connotation of control. This attitude was especially common among single mothers and divorced women. Some of them took a nonchalant, amused view of the matter and moved over to the opposing side of the moral barrier, becoming "eyesores" in the mind of the suburban majority. They made no secret of their behaviour and provoked scandal and rumour quite deliberately. But there were others who wished to avoid all gossip, did not want their family ties and human relationships to be bandied about, and had decided to withdraw from the life of the courtyard and the network of neighbourhood friendships altogether.

Women's pub-going is subject to far greater suburban moral control than men's. "You don't find many married women going there... they're all single mothers or have got some kinds of problems in their lives, the women that go there" is how one child-minder put it. No one actually prevents women from going to the pub nowadays, but moral control has the same result. Single mothers experience this control particularly keenly, they feel they are branded or suspected of something. Indeed, single mothers represent a "flash-point" for the suburb, and single mothers are viewed in a variety of ways. On the one hand, the sheer number of single mothers living in the suburb is so large that the state of single motherhood is now accepted or "normal". But the divorced woman has nevertheless broken one of the bulwarks of "social respectability". And once she is labelled as "disreputable" in one respect, she is soon liable to be so in others as well - drinking, being non-productive, living in a Council flat, being a single parent and general "impropriety" all tend to go together.

Women often contract "pub fever" after their marriage has been dissolved. They try to get out of the home, to take part in the social life from which they were excluded in their married days. A woman who regarded the suburban pub with great distaste when still married - because of the way her pub-going husband drank - may well start going there herself after she has been divorced, either as a single mother or in the company of her new husband.

By and large, though, women avoid the suburban pub. In order to avoid gossip, they only go there on weekends when there are dances on - or, more often, only go to pubs in the city centre. From the woman's point of view, the city centre represents an opportunity to remain anonymous or, at least, without family ties. "When you come from the centre no one sees you, but when you come from the local pub, you can be sure they'll all notice", as one single mother said.

In a way, the suburb's pub is like a "village local". Anonymity is not possible there in the same way as in establishments in the city centre. Everyone knows about everyone else's family, and family problems are a matter of common knowledge likewise. As we noted earlier on, Finland's alcohol culture is markedly unidimensional and, since the suburban pub is a stage where family problems are enacted, it follows that the pub is often seen as a veritable "scapegoat" and held to be directly responsible for its patrons' marital difficulties. Our study focusses on the suburban pub, and it is therefore hardly surprising that our examination of suburban life unearthed accusatory and moralistic attitudes.

Contemporary Culture and the Position of Women

Our study of the suburban pub focusses on the meanings of alcohol use and the part played by the pub in the suburb dweller's way of life. It has become apparent that the cultural relationship of women to the suburban pub can only be examined by looking at the pub from an everyday and family life viewpoint. After all, these factors continue to be crucial to the feminine cultural identity. Women's drinking represents an escape from the everyday, a "having a good time", and is the exception rather than the routine. The way in which women use alcohol is regulated by a host of repressive structures in the family and the suburban community. Women's drinking is more morally reprehensive and guilt-ridden than men's. In fact, the moralist philosophy holds to the same conceptions of the "nature" of woman as the masculine cultural identity does. Woman is the "weaker vessel" and must be controlled in order to prevent her from "falling".

The control which manifests itself in the moralistic attitudes of the community is now one of the functions of social structures and organizations - control was previously exercised by the man within the patriarchal family institution. Two of the most important agencies which now operate this control are the Welfare State and the power structure of public policy (for a more detailed account, see Stacey and Price, 1981). The control to which women are subject ensures that women fulfil their reproductive duties within the family and society at large (Holter, 1982).

It should be noted that the cultural position and identity of women has structures which are the same for both the division of labour within the family and the social division of labour. Upholding the views of the theory of culture which was our study's point of departure (see Willis, 1978), we might say that the family and other social institutions have the same structures - are homologous, in other words. A woman's status and identity as a wife evince the same structures as the Welfare State's payrolls. Doing the work of reproduction under these conditions, besides involving maintaining the home itself, also implies the status of a control agent - subject to the control of the husband and organization. This perspective enables us to judge how much power women really possess in a new light. In a sense, women have themselves played a part in building the manifold structures which affect them by striving to attain social recognition for their reproductive duties and join the ranks of official or "paid" labour. Women first gained power in societal organizations through a kind of officializing process of "societal motherhood" (see Saarinen, 1983), and a similar process is still going on in the field of social work today.

If we turn our attention to alcohol culture, we find that the position of women can be seen in the traditional working class culture. It is the wife who is chiefly responsible for upholding the norms of respectability and propriety. Traditionally, it is the wife who has been responsible for providing the working class husband with the "self-discipline" which he cannot do without. And it is also the wife who attends to rearing the children and keeping the family's public face in good order (see Falk, 1983). The interviews we carried out indicate that a similar division of labour between the genders is still current today in modern suburbia. It is the woman's job to take care of the home - "I reckon that women are pretty much the backbones of their menfolk, that it's the women who decide

how long the home stays together". Women are now endeavouring to break away from this state of affairs, but the divorced woman encounters attitudes which hold that she has "fallen". The old mores are still very much alive - and perhaps more so in the spheres of alcohol culture and the pub institution than elsewhere.

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AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF A ROUGH WORKING CLASS PUB

Michael A. Smith *

Public drinking contexts are important and complex situations. They provide opportunities for much more than alcohol consumption. People meet and exchange aspects of themselves, they partake in a world which consists of known others, they retreat, they join in, they relax. In the United Kingdom there are a large number of public houses, some 75,000. They are of different kinds, not only differing from the small local 'alehouse' to the large cosmopolitan 'tavern', but also differing in patterns of users and usages. Such patterns are not random but centrally related to the socioeconomic class of users and neighbourhood location. What follows is an empirical account of a participant observation study of one such pub - a 'rough' pub. There are 'respectable' and 'posh' types of pubs according to users, but it is the rough pub which perhaps represents much that is typical of masculine sub-culture and class stratification patterns.

The category of 'rough pub' is one that evokes the image of a beer-sodden culture, perpendicular drinking, criminality and a 'tough masculine' complex of values. The attempt to research such a pub was not undertaken without some indecision: there would be no claim to generate 'results' which might be applicable to more than a few pubs and a small number of participants and publicans. What could be learned of import by the study of a rough pub?

Firstly, it became clear from conversations with pub regulars - mainly working class - that some pubs and some publicans did have a reputation such that "no respectable person would go into that particular pub" - places frequented by 'mad buggers and head bangers'. The comfortable picture of Roger and Mary sipping their drinks in the oak-beamed Rose and Crown - sharing in the conviviality of a controlled situation - is hardly congruent with the 'sawdust on the floor' image conjured up by a rough pub. Was such a rough pub a 'type', and empirically, and thus conceptually, located at one end of a typological spectrum in terms of usage and users? Complete or universalistic knowledge was not the aim of the research but having identified such a context, it would have been sociologically unimaginative not to attempt a participant-as-observer study, to reinforce on-going research on pub users and usages.

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* Reader in Business Policy, Bristol Polytechnic, Bristol, England.

Secondly, it was very clear that there had been in the UK a licensing and brewing industry policy of imposing a 'civilising morality' in the ethos of rational recreation (Smith, 1982), upon the public house and alcohol consumption, of creating 'wholesome behaviour' in wholesome environments. The success of such policy strategies could be somewhat evaluated if only by examining a 'rough pub' in a very limited way.

Thirdly, a casual visit to the pub suggested it could offer insights in terms of pub usage in relation to sociability dynamics, types of users, the masculinity of the culture generated, or role style of the publican. It was distinctive and could well constitute an important strand in the objective of sociological knowledge building.

It also offered an opportunity to probe further the elements of a conceptual framework for understanding the public house as a social context (Smith, 1983). The study was also suggested by the knowledge gained on the first casual visit to the pub. The publican himself was said to have a police record 'as long as your arm', and circulating at the bar - emanating from Dennis the trashman - was a range of well-thumbed pornographic literature which posed in a stark and revealing way the maleness of the sexual stereotyping of women and the dominantly masculine culture of the public house concerned. "The Hole in the Wall" - the descriptive name chosen for the pub concerned -was thus approached with more than vague academic interest.

The Hole in the Wall

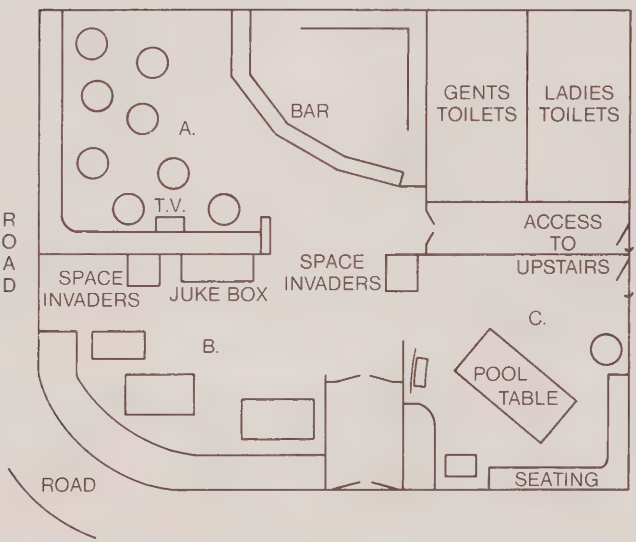
The location of the public house was a run-down inner city area. The affluence of once busy small manufacturing concerns and clean front doorsteps of quite smart terraced houses had given way within the last fifteen years to planning blight - areas of bulldozed housing and others awaiting slum clearance. It was a depressing grey area reminiscent of the description of 'Luke Street' in Liverpool and the rough pub - Casey's - studied as part of an explanation by Gill of the growth of delinquent sub-cultures:

> Luke Street accommodation is poor and crowded. Casey's offers a refuge from the stresses of families living in such conditions. When the men go into Casey's they take it easy and family responsibilities will not intrude on their enjoyment. They can drink, play darts and talk. Talk about what's happened at work and in the street. Talk about what the boss said to someone. He's a cunt him. Talk about what the corporation haven't done. Wankers driving big Rovers and not deserving a penny. Talk about the police. Bastards, never met a decent one. But most of all talking about sport . . . If you live in Luke Street you don't need an excuse to go into Casey's. Going in for a drink is a good enough explanation . . . In its time it would have been a respectable pub sharing in a modest way in the prosperity of the town . . . As a result of its age, the decline of the town and recent housing and industrial development in its immediate surroundings, the pub has changed into a depressing corner pub in a physically depressing area. (Gill, 1977:79)

The 'Hole in the Wall' had similar surroundings to Luke Street and shared some characteristics of a working class pub studied and reported upon elsewhere (Smith, 1981) - small, tenanted, with the 'home' above the pub. The pub was divided into three areas: a bar-lounge area, a small second lounge and a games room (a pool room, in fact). It was a garishly tatty pub, with low copper-topped tables, and cream paintwork going brown. The carpet was well trodden and wearing thin. Wallpaper was torn from the wall in places and there were two clocks, one permanently stopped.

'ROUGH' PUB

PLAN OF THE "HOLE IN THE WALL"*



Before describing the characteristics of usage and users of the pub and what happened during the three month period that the researcher was a participant observer, it is important to highlight several initial aspects of the participation process. Going into the pub, as a stranger, ordering a drink and

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* Assumed name for research reporting purposes.

standing at the bar was viewed as a mildly provocative act by the 'regulars'. A bar group was much in evidence in the 5-7 pm period (the pub opened at 5 pm) and the researcher was quickly told that he 'could not stand there' because it was Tommy's spot - "he'll shift ya when he's in". Tommy was 'in' fairly soon after the researcher, and as he was about twice the size of the researcher, it was decided that situational discretion was the better part of sociological valour: the researcher shifted.* The clear designation of bar positions as 'reserved' was the first indication of exactly how regular the members were who constituted the bar group, and how closed the group was to outsiders. The second indication was in relation to the 'right' to sit on the only bar stool. This was reserved for the 'king' as the regulars called him - the man who could 'take out' or overpower any other in the pub. The third interesting aspect of the entry into the pub - and it became clear subsequently - was the researcher's reaction to the pornographic literature circulated, a bar-group virility test for the new participant. The offer by the researcher to have it reprinted meant he was regarded as a 'fucking good-un' and 'accepted', albeit his rough clothes did not quite match his less rough voice. Two other aspects of the situation revealed themselves within the first week of pub participation - one in relation to the publican's role style, one relating to the family tensions attendant on running the pub.

The publican, Terry, was behind the bar less often than in front of it. The regulars complained that he was 'never there' (i.e. behind the bar), and Dennis the trashman poured the newcomer his first pint. Terry was usually found playing pool (at lunchtimes and early evenings) or running a gambling card group (late evening in mid-week) with the young male regulars and with one or two young women attached to the group. The card group was very much a situation of interpersonal male interaction where everything was 'fucking', with the publican being central to the group itself. In terms of marital tension, Terry shared quite freely with the bar group his marriage conflicts. His wife was not talking to him during the first week of the participant observation process and it became increasingly obvious throughout the period that she was subject to considerable conflict in terms of the demands of running the pub and looking after the house upstairs as well as the couple's eight-year-old child.

The strategy of the researcher as participant observer was threefold: firstly, to become a member of the bar group, visiting the pub for the 5-7 pm session during the week; secondly, to visit the pub from 8:30 pm through to closing time, both on weekdays and at weekends; and thirdly, to visit at lunchtimes - usually from 12:30 to 2:00 pm, but occasionally earlier and staying later with particular focus on mid-week and weekends.

Social Usages of Public House Space

The first question posed in the research perspective was what kinds of relationships existed between the designated physical space and the actual social

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* Situational discretion was often the better part of sociological valour in such situations.

use of the space.* In the rough pub the social usage patterns varied somewhat with the time of day and the day of the week and the proportion of regulars in the pub. However, approximately 98 percent of pub participants were regulars and were manual workers. That included the women who visited the pub looking for clients, including Irish Mary whom several of the regulars regarded as 'the biggest slag in the place'. When people came and what they did seemed very little related to the physical structure of the pub, in terms of designated usage. To a large extent the users divided into two distinct categories: young 'tough' regulars, almost exclusively males by themselves, and older (35-60) males, also by themselves. The younger males tended to play machines and pool, and were the main participants of the regular card gambling sessions. The older males tended to form a distinct bar group, always standing at the bar, and were generally 'large drinkers'. In the time it took the researcher to drink half a pint, most were well through their second, and managed between five and six pints in a two-hour session, compared to the researcher's two and a half pints. About 60 percent of the regulars walked to their local, the others arriving by car and bus - or 'wagon'. Many were builders' labourers. At the bar there appeared to be a fairly strict masculine ranking; Sid (the King) sat at the end of the bar 'presiding', Tommy took up a midway position whilst the researcher joined an unemployed 'engineer' (a lathe turner) at the end of the bar, the researcher being of unknown and unproven qualities.

The two groups, the middle-aged bar group and the group of tough young regulars, were the predominant users of the pub, along with an itinerant group of women, often coming in by themselves, standing at the bar 'dressed to kill', buying one drink, very conspicuously doing nothing but standing at the bar. Irish Mary was a 'regular', usually coming on Thursdays and Fridays about 7 pm. Some other 'regular' women came usually after 9 pm by themselves or in twos, sometimes leaving by themselves, sometimes not. Very occasionally a middle class couple, to judge by dress and speech, strayed into the pub and usually survived one drink -- even on one occasion deciding not to have a drink, but standing, looking and leaving rapidly. It was social worlds away from middle class suburbia.

To assert that there was little relationship between designated social usage of physical space in the pub, and actual social usage, requires further elucidation. What seemed most characteristic of the pub was the almost complete absence of different social space usage where distinct 'things' happened. It was not so much that social space was 'portable' as that there was little differentiation in usage patterns. There was almost a complete absence of closed or private social space. Although there were tables to act as social shields to interaction, they were at knee height in the area opposite the bar. The second possible area of private social space was the second lounge area, but this was used almost exclusively for the evening card game, in which the observer often became a participant. The second area was 'invaded' by two machines -the juke box and a space games machine. The absence of closed or private social space appeared as a result both of the physical structure and the patterns of

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* The three categories of social space (open, negotiable, and closed) relate to the 'openness to interaction' of participants. For a fuller analysis see Smith, 1981.

usage of participants, but also importantly, as a result of how the publican played his role. The bar area was much less an arena for encounters than a place where regulars usually met each other, stood, often facing outwards towards the rest of the pub, and talked to the publican wherever he happened to be - and he was not often behind the bar.

The social situation where nearly all participants were regulars (98%), known to each other (albeit age-differentiated), almost exclusively male and rough working class, with only a small proportion of women as appendages, was essentially a 'private' situation of homogeneous group interaction. It was as though the bar-group maleness extended to the entire pub - 'men as men' drinking a great deal, meeting regulars whom they regarded as mates, playing games, and exchanging jokes and information about work, gambling, cars and deals. It was a close intimate subculture dependant upon the masculine core values of toughness, immediacy and hedonism.

Social Relationships and Sexual Stereotypes

The researcher as participant observer was concerned with disentangling and understanding the patterning of social relationships which existed: who met whom, why, what they did, and the links of participants to non-public-house relational networks. At best what could be substantiated was situationally contingent, partial, and only gradually unfolded during the period of research.

There was firstly a very clear masculine hierarchy in the relationships which were evident in this particular public house. Such a hierarchy was age-differentiated in that whilst physical prowess - potential and actual - and drinking capacity were the two distinct elements in the relational matrix, they appeared to operate differently for the two main age groups of users. For the young males, often skinheads and denim or leather jacketed, the form which masculine competitiveness assumed was very much focussed on the games - the pool, cards and the space invader machines - rather than drinking itself. Many appeared to be under the legal age of drinking and would tend not to be found at the bar. Many were unemployed and looked it. They seemed to fit the description by Gill (1977) of the local lads found in Casey's:

> The local lads are really neophytes in a world of job insecurity, bad housing and not enough money . . . . They are learning that life isn't going to offer you much but what it does offer you will take. No one will stand in the way of what pleasure there is. Casey's is where you learn that. Unemployment. The man at the Job Shop said they'd be lucky if they got anything at the moment. Better make the most of it. Don't want to move away. Luke Street's all they know. Somebody said 'join the army'. Come to talk at school. Travel, sport. Fuck that! They're wearing the same denims they wear all the time. No money for best clothes. Just full-time denims. Close cropped hair, denim jackets, denim jeans and big boots. (Gill, 1977:80)

It was such a group in the 'Hole in the Wall' which played the punk-rock style music on the juke box and which on occasions took over the pool area as its distinct territory for affirming an all-male subcultural identity. Most of the 'lads' were locals, had been academic rejects at school, and gave the appearance

in the pub of 'doing nothing'. They rarely talked, except to 'fuck' everything. They played for pints - often a pint for the best of three games. The pub appeared to offer some relief to the boredom of living, an affirmation of incorporation into the tough maleness of the bar group world of male power, status and drinking - with its accompanying dichotomised experience of women who are not part of the maleness of such a world. The transition from the young group of regulars to the bar-group was fairly ritualized via the card game (usually five card stud or poker). The stakes were quite high - a 50p per person 'pot' for the best of three games. The invitation to join the group was at the discretion of the publican himself and often he would incorporate one or two of the younger regulars into the group. Often the card group included one or two older regulars (rarely the hard drinkers), and becoming a member of the group appeared to signify a step in the hierarchy of masculine values and membership acceptance.

The second major group of pub users were the older males, almost without exception by themselves. The extent to which this group knew each other was considerable. Some were employed in the same firm or in the same kind of work. They were predominantly labourers, some Irish, some from around Newcastle. There were three or four who had been laid off from the building trade, as well as a number of others from a range of manual occupations. These included Fred the caretaker, John who was a tailor's cutter, a railway porter, and Stan, who was on the 'sick' and looked it. Relationships between the older male regulars appeared to be very much occupationally based and they seemed to use the pub as 'home from work', to talk about work problems such as compensation, insurance, redundancy, making money on the side, as well as to discuss gambling, horse-racing, and cars and very little about women. Although there was bar pornography, it was not accompanied by a range of casual comment and stereotyped jokes about women. There was no telephone in the pub area and thus no wives phoned and the nearest equivalent were children coming to the pub door - as happened on several occasions - around 6:30 pm, asking for 'Dad', to tell him that 'tea was ready'. There was little ambiguity about how women were defined ("women - fucking cows"), and there was little discussion at the bar about wives, marriages or sexual adventures. It was almost as though the bar group 'did things' rather than talked about them. There was a very clear self image of 'men as men' and work as 'labour', and much focus on survival in a situation of poverty, hardship and economic-social inequality. The bonds born of the harshness, unpredictability and precariousness of work seem to be very much akin to Jackson's description of the communality and collectivity generated by the "deep and terrible rhythm of poverty as the ground of working class life". (Jackson, 1968)

Such collectivity may well explain why Stan - on the sick - was readily accepted in the hierarchy of the bar group relationships; the regulars assured him he would not be sent to the 'infirmary' and they freely lent him money without any expectation of being repaid. Those relationships extended to the family and the 'women folk' who came in on Friday and Saturday nights, for although the use of the pub was predominantly male, after 8 pm on Fridays and Saturdays (especially Saturdays), the older women came in twos, joining their husbands, although usually not standing or sitting with them, but simply being there together. The language changed for the night and the situation had much of the experience of the conjoining of separate worlds, with older children being allowed in as part of the family-sharing process, sometimes sitting around with

their 'Mums', usually in the back room. The men were dressed differently on Saturdays: Sid the King was smart and shaved, Dennis the trashman with his blue woolly hat and slight odour was not to be seen. Even Stan looked different and the situation had all the hallmarks of festivity and a special occasion. Not all the women on Saturdays were older and married. Acolytes of the young male neophytes were to be found, usually in twosomes, but without regular boyfriends and forming a parallel grouping. The situation was reminscent of the findings of the Worktown study, (Mass Observation, 1943) it was as though the pub was transformed into a lounge, even to the extent of some of the older women standing at the bar, expecting and receiving compliments about their hairstyles and jokes about their lack of drinking capacity. There seemed to be a distinctly protective attitude by the publican's wife to women who came into the pub. It was she who put the male regulars 'in their place' in terms of language and behaviour, on Saturdays and on other occasions, but usually out of the earshot of Terry. It was also Freda who ran the bar for most of the time, and although Terry was certainly around the pub on Fridays and Saturdays, he was still infrequently behind the bar, as 'extra help' (Terry's sister) came in on those evenings.

Thus far some of the social situation and patterning of social relationships in the 'rough' pub has been reported. The decor was rough and the social usage was that of a 'private-collective'. There was little value differentiation for most of the time. The proportion of regulars was very high, and the maleness of the pub not at all restricted to the bar group. The focal interests of participants, and the degree to which regulars knew each other, seemed to result in a very integrated sociability-drinking-activity public house sub-culture. That sub-culture was predicated upon the maleness of a group of users with a focus on drinking for the older males and activity for the younger males. Of particular interest was the masculinity of the pub sub-culture and orientations towards women. Women were not a particularly predominant focal interest in terms of conversation and interaction in the pub, a fact which tended to suggest not only a separateness of female and male social worlds, perhaps deriving from the sharp segregation of work from women and family, but acceptance of traditional role playing and gender stereotypes of appropriate behaviour.

Such a segmentation was made all the more interesting by the presence of 'not very nice girls' (as the licencee's wife described them) - prostitutes who came in on a client-touting pub-tripping routine. They did the 'round' of the pubs often, starting with the 'Hole in the Wall' or finishing there. The researcher decided that trying to 'chat up' and get picked up by one of the 'not very nice girls', whilst sociologically interesting, might be taking the role of participant-observer somewhat beyond the pub. However, it was possible to observe what strategies were employed by these women to deal with an all-male world. Three particular strategies were operative: firstly, a very clear <u>social visibility</u> strategy, in rather sharp contrast to the other women who came into the pub. The 'not very nice' girls were 'nicely dressed' and stood alone at the bar - usually not for long. Secondly, a <u>public non-involvement</u> strategy: they tended not to initiate conversation or interaction, bought their own drinks and waited to be approached. Thirdly, a <u>selective client</u> strategy: they tended not to allow themselves to be picked up by just 'anyone'. Given the proportion of pub users who were regulars, it became clear that these women had established clients whom they preferred and almost waited for in the pub. Usually the 'pick up'

involved a minimum of conversation, such as "Shall we go somewhere else?", and the couple walked out, perhaps going to another pub, perhaps not.

A description of who met whom and what they did does yield some explanation of why. Relationships between the behaviour of participants and the focal interests of the pub's regulars suggest that a fairly narrow range of values and interests were operative. There was a particular sense in which the pub provided a refuge from the uncertainty of life experiences. The hardness and harshness of work as labour, of insecure employment, the male toughness of 'making a living'. The gathering was one of 'ragged' men (most during the week were wearing their working clothes which were an odd collection of woolly jumpers, worn jeans, anoraks or short duffle coats, and woolly hats, the latter being made from the worn out jumpers). The experience of communality and sociability appeared to derive from the immediacy of sharing together the maleness of a man's world, and the blurring of the edges of social reality in the levity and forgetfulness induced by drink. It was a world in which women could share - on male terms. The wives on Friday and Saturday evenings, and the 'not very nice girls' as part of the availability of sex for money. The participants were hard drinkers but it was rarely a situation in which de-regulated behaviour actually occurred. Part of being a man was to be able to 'hold your drink', to 'take women if you wanted to', and to exploit the outside world. The ethic seemed not to use the pub to assert male virility - it required little demonstration. The most de-regulated behaviour was in the language which was certainly uninhibited. The 'Hole in the Wall' was an oasis of certainty for the participants, an ordered world of understood communality in a hostile and uncertain external world.

> Uncertainty leads to a number of things. First, it leads to a philosophy of live now, to enjoy yourself while you can. The realities of life . . . are not conducive to a philosophy of deferred gratification. There is a sense of fatalism and making the best of life . . . Secondly, it leads to a situation in which you don't look down your nose at the bloke with nothing - you might be next. Thirdly, it leads to helping out - seeing somebody right for a couple of weeks. Finally the irregular employment leads to 'making a few bob' . . . doing small one-off jobs for other people or . . . the expression could have more directly illegal connotations. (Gill, 1977:84)

The Publican's Role - Customer and Family Dimensions

The sociologist in the rough pub was concerned to explore the dimensions of the work role of the publican - a tenant, not a manager. How did the publican relate to the customers, and what impact did running the pub have on the family in terms of the pervasiveness of the demands of the role? It will have become clear that the publican, Terry, was highly involved with some aspects of the role. However, there was a marked ambivalance in his orientation towards the formal demands of the role - 'he was never there' (behind the bar) to requote Dennis the trashman. The publican had been a tenant of the pub for four years and left much of the running of the pub to his wife. At lunchtime, he was rarely to be seen and seemed to have a very variable schedule in relation to the teatime trade and even Friday and Saturday evenings. There appeared to be a very asymmetrical division of labour between Terry and Freda. It was she who, more often than not, was found behind the bar, collecting the glasses, making the

snacks, and hosting the regulars. The publican himself tended to 'drift around' the pub, and seemed to pursue an almost totally informal relationship with the regulars, being found in the card group, playing pool, or playing the more expensive of the two space invader machines. When asked by the researcher why he didn't stay behind the bar, the publican said that "he didn't need to", and wherever he was at any time, "didn't fucking matter". He was correct. He was within five or six paces of the bar wherever he was. He was the publican, and rather than separating himself from the regulars, was a fully fledged member of the group constituting the public house. Some attempt was made to uncover why Terry was so variable in his pub appearances and it seemed likely that he was 'doing deals'. It transpired that Terry dealt in second hand cars - very second hand - and it was this which explained his somewhat variable appearance. However, when he was there he certainly showed all the indications of a role style characterized by active participation. Thus Terry, according to his wife, spent a lot of time in several other pubs making contacts and dealing. From observation it seemed as though Terry accepted the precariousness and maleness of the social world of his pub, but selectively fostered its big spenders, the card group members and the hard drinkers.

The publican himself controlled how much time he would spend in the pub. He often came in mid-way through the tea-time session, between 6:30 pm and 8:30 pm, flushed with success or otherwise. Freda, who effectively ran the pub, usually gave him a cool reception. "The worst mistake we ever made was taking a pub" was her general view and it was reinforced by Terry's own unpredictability. The publican's separation of himself from the full time business of running a pub paralleled his separation of himself from his wife and family. His orientation to the pub, marked by ambivalence, did seem to derive from the basic incompatibility of two role demands, being a member of the pub regulars and being exposed to his wife and family at the same time. He welcomed the former but not the latter. It was instructive to observe Terry and Freda when they were behind the bar at the same time. Terry gave the orders and it was clear that Freda was required to comply. The compliance clearly met with the approval of the regulars who nodded further into their glasses, approving of the maleness of the structure of power but not wanting to be involved.

The work side of the pub clearly impinged on the family and family life of the publican. Such impingement was closely linked to the activity, relational and time demands of the publican's role. It was also aided by other factors. The family lived over the pub and access to the living area was via the games room. As already reported, much of the pub work of serving drinks, preparing snacks, and collecting glasses was carried out by Freda, the publican's wife. Their eight-year old son, Stephen, spent a lot of time in the pub during the evening, even staying up until closing time during the week. He was allowed the run of the pub (in his pyjamas) and often sat in on the card game or played the space invader machine. It was as though there was little division between pub life and family life. The rather haphazard division of labour between the publican and his wife was clearly a major source of tension in the public house work situation, and this appeared to be exacerbated by her disillusion with pub life, often expressed to the pub regulars, and the absence of any separation between being and not being in the pub for her and her son. To the participant observer there was less of a spillover from work to family, than an absorption of both into the lifestyle of the particular couple in a caricature of the maleness of working class family life. Terry and Freda rarely indulged in open disagreement in the public house

situation, but the bruise on Freda's face on one occasion was unlikely to be the result of an accident.

Normative De-regulation and Social Control

Thus far, very little has been reported on the unruly image of the 'rough' pub and the publican's role in the social control process in the particular public house. Very little 'trouble' occurred in the particular pub during the period of study. Certainly the effect of high alcohol consumption was to create a rowdy scene - loud voices, colourful language, some regulars 'falling about' or gradually physically subsiding as they propped up the bar. None of the behaviour, however, fitted the categorisation of 'head bangers' or 'mad buggers', although there was rich mythology of what had happened on some celebrated occasions in the past: how the 'king' had 'taken out' challengers to his supremacy. Perhaps the most celebrated and repeated tale was what happened on 'the anniversary' when Terry and Freda put on a 'spread' for the regulars one Saturday evening. Three of the regulars had been drinking steadily from midday. They came back to the pub later in the evening, reputedly having drunk a large quantity of beer each, as well as having split a bottle of whiskey between them, having also been chased by a Chinese cook with a meat cleaver for non-payment of a Chinese meal. Because these regulars couldn't 'get at the food', they decided to carry off a side of beef from the pub spread. Having performed this exploit they phoned the publican the next day and told him the beef was tough. They were barred for the whole of the following week.

In one sense the rough pub was certainly a normatively de-regulated context, in that there was a range of expectations and permitted behaviours which would have been out of place in any other public context. However, in terms of the maleness of expectations, hard drinking and the hierarchical values of the regulars in the rough pub, what was permitted and accepted was less 'de-regulated' than structured by the different values and interests of the pub users. In part, what was permitted and accepted was fostered by the ways in which the publican's role style itself fitted with the usages, values and focal interests of the pub regulars. As reported earlier, the publican played his role vis-à-vis the pub users in an almost totally informal style, being himself one of the regulars, displaying a high activity profile in the group. While he drank little in his own pub, he always carried his pint around with him, and usually closed the pub on time. At the same time, he did not seem too concerned about the amount of alcohol consumed or the clearly sexual use of the pub by the 'not very nice girls', and was quite prepared to propel regulars towards the door if they began to be too 'uppish'. It was interesting that it was more often than not Dennis the trashman who was thus propelled. Dennis posed no real threat, being in his fifties whereas the publican was in his mid-thirties. It appeared that Dennis was used to demonstrating to the regulars the tough maleness of the publican's role.

The publican's role in the normative regulation of the social context of the public house had two other important elements which require some comment. Firstly, as already indicated, there seemed to be little differentiation between the pub and the home, and whilst Terry the publican evidenced a resistance to the time demands of the work role, and was discriminating in terms of which regulars he fostered, there was a distinct normative de-regulation in the way children, especially his own son, were allowed in the pub. There was nothing

particularly remarkable about children coming into the pub at certain times; but to have the publican's eight-year-old child around the pub, taking sips of his dad's beer, hearing the colourful language of the card group, symbolised the social symbiosis of pub life and family in the publican's role style. It was symptomatic of the informal control strategies which characterized the publican's approach to running the pub.

Secondly, it was interesting that the police kept a fairly close watch on the pub, as well as using it for gaining information about people they wanted to 'talk to'. "Hey up, the fuzz", was the reaction of one of the regulars as two square-shouldered plain-clothes men came in looking for someone. It was not a pub which the police themselves frequented casually or socially. They went to the Nelson up the road, a pub which sold real ale and which was a mixed class pub or respectable working class pub, to use a categorisation already evolved. The police, in uniform, descended on the pub one Friday evening just after 11 pm, after closing time but in the drinking up period. The pub's reputation seemed to warrant regular visits about once every two months. Nothing particularly remarkable happened on the visit but it was clear that it was a very visible reminder to the regulars, and the publican, of the fact that the police were keeping a watch on the pub. There was none of the tolerance of after-hours drinking by the police which appeared to characterise the respectable working class pub reported elsewhere (Smith, 1981). "The fuzz, fucking bastards" was the hostile and graphic description by the regulars of the police and their activities.

Conclusions

The strategy of participant observation in the pub added fresh qualitative data to the already well grounded realisation that the public house as a social context was a complicated matrix of human behaviour and social organization. The category of 'rough' was one which emerged during the general research process. Visually, the pub was 'rough' and its participants 'rough'. In terms of its regulars - and they were most of the users - it was a male world, combining the physical toughness of work and unemployment. It was a social world of hard drinking, sharp sexual stereotypes, pub mates, and a roughness which was natural to the way of life of its users. "Women were women and men were men." The gender-differentiated patterns of participation clearly reflected the sexually segregated work-family-leisure nexus of the cultural sub-stratum of the pub concerned. In terms of the publican's role style, the separateness of male and female worlds in the activities and interests of the regulars emphasized the ambivalence of the publican to the family side of the pub in the symbiosis of work and family life. The integrated role style vis-a-vis regulars contrasted sharply with the segregated role style vis-a-vis 'the wife', the long-suffering Freda.

In a general sense this preliminary study suggests certain important sociological issues. Are there, in relation to usage of different pubs, different modes of sociability and participation both between pubs and within them, and are such differences related to class, sex and age characteristics of users? Also, since different public houses offer varying physical-spatial features (such as the shape of the bar, the arrangement of the seating, plushness of the decor), as well

as different games-activity facilities, how do these variations relate to the focal interests of participants who are 'regulars'? The relationship between the physical/spatial structure of public houses and the focal interests of dominant users may well be mediated by, and be reflected in, the structure of social space: the extent of openness to interaction in a situation of voluntary participation. Thus, the categories of open, negotiable and closed social space evolved in the course of this research may be important aspects of usage, varying both within pubs and between them, influenced by the physical-spatial elements of a pub when combined with the focal interests of particular groups of users. How far is the dominant male bar-group sub-culture, its sexual stereotyping and hard drinking (elements of the rough pub), characteristic of 'respectable' working class pubs and 'posh' middle class pubs? How far are there important differences between the role styles of publicans? The publican in the 'rough' pub evidenced a high separateness from the family in terms of running the pub. Perhaps particular role styles are not unrelated to 'types' of pubs and sociability styles of the users. Equally, perhaps the publican's role style fosters particular kinds of 'regulars' and derives from the conception of occupational identity held by the publican.

The series of studies of which the paper forms a part suggests some clues to these issues. Given that there are over 75,000 pubs in the United Kingdom and 67 percent of the UK adult population visit a pub at least once a month, perhaps sociologists ought to try to understand more fully the patterning of social usages, and the role of the public house in class-culture patterning. Such understanding should be predicated upon a generous view of human nature, an acceptance of the importance of the class and gender values, and a more systematic explanation of the relationship between alcohol, leisure and social contexts.

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THE IMPLEMENTATION AND ENFORCEMENT OF THE LIQUOR LEGISLATION IN HOTELS AND TAVERNS IN NEW ZEALAND

Jane Bradbury*

The way in which liquor is sold in New Zealand has always been a contentious and confused issue and thus it is not suprising that the liquor laws of the country are themselves confused. They were recently described by the Deputy Leader of the Opposition as the product of muddled thinking and muddled politics and, quite literally, a mess (Palmer, 1983). Even the Minister of Justice has himself admitted that the legislation on liquor is the most complex of the pieces of legislation for which he is responsible (McLay, 1984).

The ad hoc and piecemeal provisions of the present statute are the result of the long-fought battle between the prohibition movement and the liquor trade or, as it has been otherwise described, the result of a battle between fanaticism and greed (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1945-1946). The legislation represents an attempt at a compromise between these two opposing factions. Yet it is a compromise devoid of any underlying rationale and one which appears to be unsatisfactory to all concerned.

The prohibition movement reached its peak in New Zealand in 1919 when it only just failed to secure the necessary votes in the national poll for prohibition to be introduced. Nevertheless, although not successful in its main aim, the movement exercised substantial control on the manner of drinking in New Zealand. In order to stave off prohibition, the liquor trade was forced to accept many restrictions and to make numerous concessions. As a result, drinking became separated from virtually every other social activity. Liquor was not allowed at dances, nor was dancing or any other form of entertainment permitted on licensed premises. One could not drink liquor in restaurants after 6 o'clock, nor drink at a sports club or a theatre. Drinking became an isolated activity.

The situation had been aggravated in 1917 by the introduction of six o'clock closing. This was intended to be a temporary war measure, but in fact, because of the prohibition influence, it endured for the next 50 years. What resulted is commonly known as the "six o'clock swill" because of its strong resemblance to "pigs at the trough" (Bollinger, 1976:1). Public bars were crammed with people,

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* Research Fellow, Institute of Criminology, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.

almost exclusively male, trying to drink as much as possible in the hour between the finish of work and closing time. The physical surroundings for this drinking exercise have been likened to a public lavatory, with tiled walls and bare floors, leaners instead of chairs and frosted windows which separated this scene from the outside world.

It is against this background that drinking in New Zealand today must be viewed. In the last decade, however, the situation has become less uncivilized and more liberal, although remnants of the six o'clock swill days can still be seen. Hotels and taverns now close their bars at either 10 or 11 o'clock. Most bars are comfortably furnished and although leaners still exist in public bars, more seating is available. Furthermore the public bar is no longer an exclusively male domain. Entertainment, especially in the form of live music, is now quite commonplace in lounge bars and many hotels serve food at their bars or have their own fast-food restaurants. Licensed and bring-your-own restaurants are now legal and an accepted part of the social scene. Similarly the larger theatres have their own bars and many sports clubs have liquor licences. Even Sunday drinking is permitted in some circumstances. Nevertheless, although the situation is changing slowly, it would be fair to say that drinking in New Zealand is still not fully integrated with other forms of social activity, and for a significant proportion of the population, it remains an activity in itself.

The Sale of Liquor Act was completely reviewed in 1962, but since then it has been amended at least once a year. In the debates surrounding any proposed amendments, considerable public concern has been expressed about the type and degree of control which operates over drinking. For example, proposals for Sunday drinking and the lowering of the minimum drinking age from 20 to 18 caused considerable public outcry. Yet the ensuing debates have been largely based on unproven assumptions since little is known about the operation and effectiveness of existing policies. Consequently, we designed a research project to investigate the ways in which the liquor laws are actually implemented and enforced in hotels and taverns in New Zealand.

The focus of the study was those who have some responsibility for enforcing liquor laws in hotels and taverns. Consequently, we endeavoured to interview hotel management and bar staff, with a view to ascertaining how familiar they were with the relevant provisions of the liquor laws and the way in which they interpreted and enforced these laws.

After an exploratory study was carried out, it was clear that interviews with hotel/tavern management and staff which had been preceded by observations in their bars provided the most valuable insights into the way in which the liquor laws were interpreted and enforced in their establishments. The observations provided a backcloth against which the interviews could be conducted. For example, specific incidents which had occurred during the observation period or any particular characteristics of the establishment could be referred to. Further, the observations provided a means of cross-checking the data obtained from the interviews.

A small provincial New Zealand city was chosen for this study. Four hotels were selected for particular attention although the management of all the 15 hotels/taverns in the city were interviewed. In these four hotels, the operation

of the bars was observed and both bar staff and management were interviewed. The four hotels which were selected were considered to be as representative as possible of the other establishments in the city.

They varied in the type of facilities offered, the type of patronage which they attracted and the way in which they were operated. Two were large, modern units with large bars, live entertainment and motel-like accomodation attached. They were each owned by a different brewery and run by a manager. The third was an older style, privately owned and operated hotel which had a strong sports orientation. It hosted nearly all the rugby teams in the area, as well as several other sporting groups. The fourth hotel to be selected was a long-established hotel which was privately leased from a brewery. It had recently been upgraded and boasted a large and well patronized fast-food restaurant. Three of these four hotels were situated close to the city centre, while one of the large modern units was located in the suburbs.

Two researchers, a female and male, observed the public, private, lounge and house bars of the selected hotels on a rotational basis so as not to attract too much attention. Commencing at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the observations continued until closing time, but were not necessarily confined to one bar in any one evening. These observations lasted for three weeks, after which the researchers felt that, for the purposes of the research, they were adequately familiar with the way in which the bars operated. During the observation period the researchers did not reveal their true identity to the bar staff for fear it would induce behavioural changes in the bars and thereby bias the data collection. They did, however, identify themselves prior to conducting the interviews. The interviews, the majority of which were taped, were semi-structured or unstructured and took place in a variety of situations, ranging from the staff tea room to the bar itself. Both staff and management were co-operative throughout and only one hotel manager out of the total of 15, because of his interpretation of brewery policy, refused to be interviewed. Lastly, the police sergeant in charge of licensing and licensed premises was interviewed in order to ascertain police policy and practice in enforcing the liquor legislation in that particular city.

Under the law, the licensee, manager and bar person all commit an offence if a person under the age of 20 years is supplied with liquor unless the person actually supplying the liquor believed on reasonable grounds that the person was over the age of 20 years or received reasonable evidence purporting to show that the person was aged 20 years or over. It is also an offence to sell or supply liquor to an intoxicated person and, once again, the licensee and manager, as well as the bar person, are all liable for prosecution. The licensee and manager are also committing an offence if they allow any person to become drunk or allow a drunken person to be or remain on their licensed premises.

The owners or managers of the establishments were all familiar with their responsibilities under the law when they were interviewed, although in practice they varied in the degree to which they enforced the law. Bar staff, on the other hand, were not so well informed. Few bar staff appeared to have received any instruction on the liquor laws or on their statutory responsibilities. For example, one bar person was unsure of the legal minimum drinking age and another was unaware that she was permitted and, in fact, legally obliged to refuse to serve someone who was drunk. The majority of bar staff were uncertain who was

legally at fault if they served a minor or a drunken person. An assistant manager admitted to us that he had once been familiar with the provisions of the Sale of Liquor Act but now "hasn't a clue".

Underage drinkers were not considered to be a real problem by management and staff alike. If patrons were not obviously under age and were not causing any trouble, they were generally served. Nearly all the bar staff we interviewed remarked that they found it extremely difficult to gauge the age of their customers, especially female customers, and many admitted to being embarrassed at having to ask suspected under-agers for proof of age. They considered that this was a pointless exercise anyway as it was difficult to assess the validity of documents presented to them. For example, driving licenses in New Zealand do not contain a photograph and so bar staff have no way of knowing whether the license produced actually belongs to the person in question. Thus, unless the person was obviously under age, bar staff found that it was simply easier to serve them. In the larger bars, especially those with live bands, the staff stated that they were so busy serving drinks they simply didn't have the time to assess or question the degree of sobriety or ages of their customers.

Some bar staff expressed sympathy with minors who tried to obtain service. One bar person indicated that she almost felt an obligation to serve an underage person as she herself remembered when she drank under age and was served by bar staff who were aware of the fact. A casual bar person simply said, "We've all drunk under age. You feel a heel saying that you can't serve them", and a bar person who herself looked very young admitted that she was reluctant to question a person's age as she was aware of the embarrassment that it caused that person. The same bar person, who worked a large busy bar said to us in interview, "Don't tell the management I said it but in here a while ago us guys behind the bar looked old!"

The licensees and managers we interviewed displayed liberal attitudes to underage drinking. For instance, both of the modern brewery-owned units we studied had bars which plainly were patronized by a substantial number of underagers. One was a bar frequented by students and the other featured a live band which attracted younger drinkers. Several of the managers recognized the value of a popular band in attracting customers and thus they were actually endeavouring to cater for young patrons. It was apparent that their turnover depended on their breaking the law in this respect. For example, one manager stated that he wouldn't allow 15 or 16 year olds in his lounge bar, but was tolerant of 18 and 19 year old drinkers saying "the pubs couldn't exist without them". Similarly, the trainee manager of the hotel with a public bar which was substantially patronized by students who were under age told us, "If we didn't let them in there would hardly be anybody in there. I shouldn't say that. On the last day (of term) we decided to clamp down on them with a request for I.D. We were throwing them out left, right and centre. Then later in the night - about 9 o'clock -we just gave up because there were just so many of them." Several proprietors justified their attitude by saying that it was better for these underage patrons to be drinking and listening to music on premises where they were supervised than to be "roaming the streets". They pointed out that as such people were on the premises illegally, they necessarily had to keep a low profile and behave themselves, and thus were good, trouble-free customers.

This casual attitude extended to serving people who were drunk. In most cases a person who was drunk was served with more alcohol if the bar person considered that he or she could physically cope and was not causing trouble. In many cases serving another drink was thought to be the most expedient response to a drunken person, as to do nothing was considered to be inviting trouble. For example the manager of a tavern admitted to us:

> Drunkenness is probably one of the areas that we don't deal with as much as we should because I think that's all tied up with the violence thing. It's very very difficult. If I can give an example - we have one individual who drinks in our public bar and he would consume for argument's sake four gallons of draught beer everyday. Now he's got used to that. If you turned round and suggested that perhaps he had enough under his belt and it might pay for him to go - then you may as well take all your furniture out and let them have a free for all.

One barperson commented that he found it difficult to interfere in the drinking practices of his regular customers and another stated that it was impossible for some of his customers not to get drunk.

> I'll serve drunks because, in the public bar especially, that's what some of them go there for and who the hell am I to say no and that the law says you can't get drunk. If they want to get drunk to hell with it. If they go out and fall in the gutter the police will pick them up. Anyway, how do I decide what drunk is - that's the problem. Legally, drunk is when they're on the ground and can't do anything. So if somebody is buying a drink then they're not drunk are they? You're not drunk unless you're lying on the ground.

Both bar staff and management exercised a great deal of discretion over drunkenness in their bars. Most held liberal attitudes towards their regular customers whose behaviour, even in a drunken state, could be anticipated. For example, a bar person described an old man who was a regular in the public bar and was usually quite drunk but "he seems to have a radar system to get back to his table even though everything is crumbling around him. He talks to himself and to the walls. He swears a lot - but he seems to be able to handle the booze, so I serve him." One manager stated that he "looked after" his regular customers, but if an "outsider" got drunk he was told to leave. Another told us that it was difficult to refuse service to a customer who had already spent a considerable amount of money in the bar.

Thus, whether a drunken person was served or not appeared to depend on the degree of trouble or disorder which would eventuate in the bar if, on the one hand, service was continued, or, on the other hand, if service was discontinued. The situation can best be summed up by the following response we received:

> Some people get drunk and aggressive. Those are the ones that you don't serve. The people that get drunk and get happy - just let them go. They are not causing anyone any harm.

One of the provisions of the liquor legislation which was ignored by nearly all those concerned was prohibition orders. These orders are made by the court and the recipient of such an order is prohibited from entering licensed premises

for a specified period. The Courts send a list of prohibited persons to the proprietors of licensed establishments in the area, but, as nearly all the managers pointed out, they are of little use as they do not have an accompanying photograph, thus making it virtually impossible to identify prohibited persons. Consequently, these lists were not displayed in bars and appear to be a provision of the liquor legislation that was dismissed as irrelevant by police, bar managers, bar staff and patrons alike. The majority of the bar staff that we spoke to were completely unaware of the existence of such orders.

Generally speaking, hotels and taverns adhered to the legal licensing hours. There were, nevertheless, several exceptions which at least provided after-hours and Sunday drinking for regular customers. Although these facilities were not blatantly obvious to the casual onlooker they were not difficult to discover.

It is permitted by law to serve liquor to a house guest or hotel employee at any time on any day. Consequently, house bars are not required to keep to specified opening and closing times. It was apparent, however, that in several of the establishments we studied, the house bars provided a drinking place for the regulars of other bars, both after those bars had closed and on Sundays. During one observation period the researchers themselves were allowed to drink in a house bar after normal hours and, when observing in another bar which served as both a private and house bar, a customer who was known not to be a guest or employee of the hotel was overheard saying that she had stayed drinking in that bar until 3 a.m. the previous night. Further, one manager we interviewed told us "there's a lot of flexibility here. The cops sort of turn a blind eye to house bars."

Those hotels and taverns with restaurants are permitted to sell liquor from 9 a.m. until 1 o'clock in the morning of the following day on any day to their restaurant customers as part of a meal. However, this provision of the Sale of Liquor Act was consistently being abused. In two of the hotels we studied, the bar adjoining the restaurant was once again frequented by drinkers outside the normal licensing hours who at no time bought food. The bar staff pointed out that the law was difficult to enforce as there was no way of differentiating between drinkers and restaurant customers. One manager we interviewed admitted:

> We don't police it. Early, anybody drinks there. But once 10 o'clock and 11 o'clock comes - as the case may be - nobody gets in there apart from restaurant guests. But those people actually in the bar - we don't question them.

Thus the few provisions of the liquor legislation which have been described here were frequently being abused in our study area. It was common practice for under-agers and persons who were drunk to be served liquor: no attempt was made to enforce prohibition orders; and liquor was being served to the public outside legal licensing hours.

The police, although not overtly condoning these practices, gave hotels and taverns in the city very little attention. Both staff and management reported that police visits were infrequent. Apart from very occasionally removing a few under-agers from the bars, they seldom visited these premises unless specifically

requested to do so. In contrast, the hotel and taverns of the larger city in which the exploratory study was carried out were visited by the police at least once a night and usually more.

The attitude of the police towards the enforcement of the liquor laws is reflected in the small number of prosecutions under the Sale of Liquor Act in New Zealand. Even then, those who are actually prosecuted are not usually the bar person who supplies the drink, or the licensee or manager, all of whom are liable for prosecution under the law, but the member of the public who illegally buys a drink. Of the 7,983 prosecutions for liquor offences in 1983, 93 percent were prosecutions of patrons, with only 7 percent being prosecutions of licensees, managers and bar staff. Thus, those who are responsible for the enforcement of the liquor laws on their premises are seldom sanctioned when they do break the law.

There are a number of factors operating which contribute to this situation. First, the main priority of the police, licensees, managers and bar staff is to maintain order on the premises. Thus, if under-agers and drunken persons are not disrupting the orderly running of the bar, they will usually be allowed to remain and drink on the premises. If, however, a customer is causing trouble, the law is a convenient and valuable tool with which to remove the offending person. As one of the managers we interviewed said, "I suppose it (the law) gives you a bit of muscle. You can say to someone who is giving you a bit of trouble - well, I'm not allowed to let you get drunk."

Secondly, the managers and licensees are anxious to achieve a balance between profit and order on their premises, wanting to maximize their turnover with the minimum amount of disorder. This is especially true for the managers of the brewery-owned units who tend to run the hotel or tavern as a business enterprise with great emphasis on profit and who are under constant pressure to research their target turnover. They are, therefore, reluctant to turn away customers and, in some cases, actually promote illegal drinking by providing entertainment that is attractive to the under-20 age group or by allowing after-hours and Sunday drinking.

Thirdly, as in other areas of law enforcement, it is possible to differentiate between the law, acceptable practice and unacceptable practice. It is accepted by nearly all those concerned that the liquor laws will not be strictly enforced. There is, nevertheless, a limit to the degree to which the law can be abused. For example, as has been previously discussed, house bars and family lounge bars do not appear to be operating according to the law. Other bars, however, are adhering at least to the legal licensing hours. Thus, the breaches of the law are neither blatant nor disruptive enough to force police attention.

As long as the liquor laws are not being broken too obviously and order is maintained in hotels and taverns, the police are content to adopt a peace-keeping rather than a law-enforcement role. Thus, the main emphasis in the enforcement of the liquor legislation is on controlling order. Managers and licensees are also concerned to maximize profits and so are striving to achieve a balance between the sometimes conflicting interests. Their primary concern is not who is drinking or how much they are drinking, but the maintenance of order while simultaneously maximizing profits. But the manner in which the law can be broken to achieve these aims cannot be flagrant. Although the situation may

change with time and place, the police are content to accept this providing that the breaches are not too blatant and that the degree of disorder is minimal. Unless the enforcement of the liquor laws is given a higher priority by politicians, policy-makers and law-enforcement agencies, the laws are going to continue to be abused.

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ALCOHOL, ECONOMICS AND THE ECOLOGICAL FALLACY: TOWARD AN INTEGRATION OF EXPERIMENTAL AND QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH

Thomas F. Babor*

Introduction

Because economists and behavioural scientists employ different conceptual approaches and different research methods, there has been little communication and even less research collaboration between the two disciplines. This point has been made by Johnson and Oksanen (1974) who state that "non-economists have tended to ignore economic variables, while economists have tended to ignore non-economic factors". Recent developments in the field of alcohol studies, however, have invited the application of econometric theory to the analysis of addictive behaviour (Miles, 1975; Moore and Gerstein, 1981; Kreitmen, 1983; Ainslie and Schaefer, 1981) and have indicated a need for greater collaboration between economists and behavioural scientists.

The present paper will explore these developments in alcohol studies in an attempt to integrate the concepts, methods and findings of economics and behavioural science. In particular, this paper will focus first on the contrasting theoretical approaches these two disciplines bring to the analysis of drinking behaviour and alcoholism. Next, the growing body of epidemiological and micro-economic research dealing with the effects of economic factors on drinking behaviour and and related problems will be reviewed. After evaluating the methodology of this research, a small but pertinent group of experimental studies will be summarized to demonstrate the potential contributions of laboratory research to an understanding of the economic behaviour of excessive drinkers. Finally, this research will be discussed in terms of its implications for policy-oriented observational research in naturalistic settings.

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* Department of Psychiatry, University of Connecticut School of Medicine, Farmington, CT 06032 USA.

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Theoretical Approaches

a) The Economic Model

As outlined by Leu (1983), the economist's theory of consumer behaviour assumes that every consumer has a set of tastes or preferences for goods and services available in the marketplace. Contrary to assumptions made by psychologists, these tastes are treated as exogenous "givens" in the economic model from which other propositions can be deduced. Three assumptions underlying the economic theory of consumer behaviour are: 1) perfect information, i.e., the consumer knows the alternatives among which to choose; 2) consumer sovereignty, i.e., the consumer is the best judge of what is good for him or her; and 3) the rational consumer, i.e., the consumer always chooses the alternative that serves to maximize satisfaction or utility, given his or her income and tastes. According to this model, excessive drinking, even to the point of serious social and medical consequences, may still be considered rational economic behaviour, provided that drinking gives satisfaction to the drinker, the price of alcohol is within the range of alternative commodities or services, and the drinker's income permits the allocation of resources to the purchase of alcohol.

Thus, when applied to the demand for alcoholic beverages, the theory of consumer behaviour suggests a variety of hypotheses about how drinking behaviour is affected by economic variables. For example, the classic demand model of economics predicts that the price of alcohol and the quantity demanded in the marketplace are inversely related. The relation can be strong or weak, depending on a variety of other factors that should be taken into account in any realistic assessment of the demand model. These include the consumer's income, the cost to the consumer in the time required to drink, the price and availability of substitutes for alcohol (opportunity costs), and a host of subjective factors defining the consumer's preferences or tastes. In general, the greater the consumer's income, the more money will be available for both inferior (necessary) and superior (luxury) goods. Just which category alcoholic beverages fall into remains a matter of debate. It is likely that different beverages (table wine vs. aperitifs) fall into different categories, and will therefore be differentially responsive to changes in both income and price. Another factor presumed to affect the demand curve is the availability of substitutes. For example, to the extent that beer and ale are functional equivalents, an increase in the price of one will result in the substitution of the other without any decrease in the amount of absolute alcohol consumed. Thus an analysis of the demand for one component is incomplete if it omits the substitutability and demand for another.

Time costs constitute yet another potential influence on the demand for alcoholic beverages. In addition to prices and income, the consumer's time is a constraint that affects the quantity, frequency and perhaps even the type of alcohol consumed. The fact that time spent drinking could be better expended in other kinds of economic or social activity may account for the apparent differences in alcohol consumption across income levels and occupational categories. The relative time costs of spending several afternoons at a bar may be far greater to a professional accountant than to a day laborer. This might also explain why drinking tends to be concentrated during evenings and weekends when alcohol consumption does not preclude other kinds of economic activity, and why advertisers tend to emphasize the compatibility of drinking with other

time-consuming activities such as eating, outdoor sports, and television viewing. Demand would be expected to be especially sensitive to time costs under conditions of low price.

b) Medical and Behavioural Models

In contrast to the pre-eminence of economic variables in economists' explanations of drinking behaviour, behavioural scientists and psychological theorists have focused almost exclusively on individual characteristics or non-economic environmental variables. Psychiatrists, in particular, have emphasized the "irrational" nature of excessive drinking, and have postulated disease processes to account for the persistence of drinking in the face of adverse consequences. A basic distinction has been made between non-alcoholic and alcoholic drinkers: the latter term applies to drinkers who have essentially lost the ability to control their alcohol intake and whose excessive drinking results in adverse physical or social consequences (Jellinek, 1960). While the social drinker responds readily to environmental contingencies, the alcoholic is thought to have a disease condition of undetermined etiology, characterized by the following elements: 1) a strong and at times irresistible physical craving for alcohol; 2) gradual development of "loss of control" that precipitates drinking to intoxication, rendering the alcoholic unable to abstain while physically or psychologically dependent; and 3) a distinct series of stages eventuating in physical deterioration and death (Pattison, Sobell and Sobell, 1977).

Application of the traditional disease concept to alcoholism has been questioned from a number of perspectives (Room, 1982; Pattison, Sobell and Sobell, 1977). In its place, a variety of alternative models have been suggested. These "emerging" concepts of alcohol dependence have been summarized by Pattison, Sobell and Sobell (1977) as follows:

1) alcohol dependence pertains to a variety of syndromes defined by drinking patterns and adverse consequences;

2) the population of persons with alcohol problems is multivariant and heterogenous;

3) an individual's pattern of drinking lies on a continuum ranging from nonpathological to severely pathological;

4) any person can develop alcohol dependence;

5) alcohol problems follow a variable developmental pattern and do not proceed inexorably in fixed stages;

6) regular excessive drinking is likely to initiate a process of physical dependence characterized by withdrawal symptoms; and

7) alcohol problems are closely related to environmental variables.

Like the previous economic model, these traditional and emerging concepts of alcoholism permit the derivation of hypotheses about the extent to which economic factors should influence the alcoholic's drinking behaviour. The

disease model, for example, implies that once the dependence process is initiated, the drinker will be unresponsive to economic conditions or environmental contingencies. On the other hand, the emerging model would predict that alcoholics may respond to favourable economic conditions by increased drinking, and to unfavourable factors by decreased drinking. Neither of these models permits specific predictions about the role of economic conditions or contingencies in the etiology of alcoholism. The possible exception is Jellinek's (1960) disease model that differentiates among four "types" of alcoholic. Jellinek believed that the prevalence of alpha and delta alcoholics, thought to be the predominant types in France and other viticultural countries, were in part related to the influence of the wine industry that encourages positive attitudes toward alcohol, high consumption levels and ready availability. Because this type of alcoholic drinks primarily from habit, it is likely that economic incentives or disincentives would exert a greater influence on etiology and alcoholic drinking patterns. Individual psychopathology, on the other hand, is thought to be the origin of the "gamma" and "beta" alcoholic species found predominantly in the U.S. and northern European countries. These drinkers epitomize the traditional disease concept mentioned above.

As the previous section indicates, economic models of drinking behaviour contrast sharply with the prevailing medical and behavioural models of alcoholism. The economists' model postulates a rational consumer who maximizes welfare by choosing among available alternatives on the basis of such factors as price and income. In this view, excessive drinking, even to the point of serious social and medical problems, may still be deemed rational economic behaviour given the assumptions that: 1) alcoholic beverages provide utility to the consumer; 2) alcohol prices are within the range of alternative commodities; and 3) the consumer's income permits the allocation of resources to this commodity. The disease model of alcoholism views the drinker as a pathological consumer beyond the control of personal resources or environmental, including economic, contingencies. In this view the alcoholic's excessive drinking is merely a symptom of an underlying disease condition that differentiates the alcoholic from the more common social drinker. Of course, these models are not necessarily inconsistent. The hypothetical social drinker may behave like the utility-maximizing rational consumer while the alcoholic may act more in accordance with the disease model. Because the economic model is applied at the sociological level of analysis to explain the behaviour of aggregated consumers, there has been little consideration given to the need to reconcile this model with the individually-based disease model.

c) Theories of Behavioural Choice

A third approach to the relationship between economic factors and alcohol-related problems has emerged from the application of behavioural psychology to the analysis of choice behaviour involving economic contingencies (Ainslie and Schaefer, 1981; Vuchinich and Tucker, 1983). In contrast to theories that postulate motivational factors (e.g., craving) or psychological states (e.g., stress, anomie) as the basis of alcohol's reinforcing effects, this approach focuses directly on how behaviour is allocated among a set of available activities as a function of the reinforcement contingencies associated with these activities.

From this perspective the allocation of behaviour to drinking, as opposed to alternative activities, is a function of the consequences of each kind of behaviour (e.g., type or amount of reinforcement) and the constraints imposed on gaining access to the consequences (e.g., amount of effort, delay of reinforcement). According to Ainslie and Schaefer (1981), alcoholism is an "economic" disease condition that is manifested through its effects on motivation. Regardless of the compelling nature of the motivation to drink, alcohol consumption is a voluntary response "expressed in the ordinary marketplace of choice like any other source of motivational pressure" (p. 217). The supposed irrationality of the alcoholic's behaviour is explained on the basis of temporal proximity. Alcohol is preferred because it is readily available while more socially acceptable alternatives are more removed in terms of time or effort. This perspective makes it important to analyze the drinking contexts alcoholics are typically exposed to. These settings presumably maximize the availability of alcohol and minimize access to other desirable alternatives. One implication of this model is that procedures that delay the availability of alcohol increase the likelihood that more desirable alternatives will be chosen, since the value of various long-term (e.g., family harmony) and short-term (e.g., getting drunk) rewards change as a function of delay.

Having introduced some theories of drinking and alcoholism dealing with consumer demand, medical and psychiatric disease, and behavioural psychology, the next sections will review the empirical evidence supporting these theories, as well as their logical and methodological limitations. The available research can be classified into two broad categories: 1) econometric and correlational studies employing population-level statistics and "quasi-experimental" research designs; and 2) laboratory experiments where the individual drinker is the unit of analysis. A third area of empirical research, observational studies of drinking behaviour in naturalistic settings, has not been applied to the evaluation of economic questions. This approach will nevertheless be discussed as a potentially promising method to bridge the gap between sociological and experimental research.

In considering the contribution of economic factors to the frequency and consequences of public drinking, it is important to note that the analysis of this relationship involves at least five different questions:

1) Does alcohol influence alcoholics' economic behaviour, particularly with respect to their consumption after an initial drink?

2) Do economic factors (e.g., price, income) influence alcoholics' alcohol consumption?

3) Do alcoholics differ from non-alcoholics in their response to economic factors, such as unemployment or price inflation?

4) Do economic factors affect the pattern and frequency of alcohol consumption in alcoholics and non-alcoholics?

5) Do economic factors affect the development of alcohol problems at the individual level and the prevalence of alcohol-related problems at the societal level?

The ability of social research to provide meaningful answers to these questions depends to a great extent on the methodological approach employed.

Econometric Studies and Public Health Research

In recent years traditional microeconomic theory has been applied to the analysis of alcoholic beverage consumption for several reasons. Economists have been interested in estimating the potential revenues resulting from different alcohol taxation policies and the effects of these policies on the distribution of income among different population groups (McLure and Thirsk, 1978). Epidemiologists and health economists have focused on the health implications of economic factors, since these may exert adverse effects on the incidence and prevalence of various alcohol-related disorders (Brenner, 1975; Popham et al., 1975). The focus of much of this research has been on the price and income elasticity of alcoholic beverages. If the demand for alcohol by drinkers at risk of alcoholism is relatively sensitive to price, then taxation can be used to reduce consumption in the service of public health. If the demand is relatively insensitive to price, then taxation can be used to raise governmental revenues, but only at the cost of increasing the proportion of the drinker's income allocated to alcohol.

Table 1 summarizes studies that have addressed the role of economic factors in the demand for alcoholic beverages and in the causation of alcohol-related disabilities. The list is not meant to be exhaustive (see Ornstein, 1980; Parker and Harman, 1978; Lau, 1975; McLure and Thirsk, 1978; for more comprehensive reviews). Rather, it is compiled to illustrate the variety of economic and public health issues investigated, the methods employed, the variables measured, the findings generated, and the limitations inherent in "quasi-experimental" kinds of analysis. The quasi-experiment is a research procedure usually applied to naturally occurring social phenomena in which the investigator attempts to approximate the experimental control of the laboratory (Campbell and Stanley, 1963).

The studies outlined in Table 1 can be classified into two general categories depending on the scope and the nature of their subject matter. The first group deals with relatively straightforward analyses of the demand for alcoholic beverages (Lau, 1975; Johnson and Oksanen, 1977; Houthakker and Taylor, 1966) while the remaining studies are concerned less with consumption than with its consequences for public health. In these studies, the range of independent and dependent variables tends to be much wider. While econometric studies have limited themselves to investigating price, income and taxes, public health studies have investigated additional factors such as fluctuations in the business cycle, unemployment levels, demographic factors (e.g., religion and ethnicity), alcohol availability (as determined by number of retail outlets, strikes, legal purchasing age) and miscellaneous variables (e.g., urbanization and tourism). Likewise, health-related studies have expanded the number of dependent variables to include social and health indicators such as liver cirrhosis, delirium tremens, chronic alcoholism, and alcoholic psychosis as well as crime, homicide and divorce.

TABLE 1

COMPENDIUM OF QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL ECONOMIC STUDIES

Author(s) (Year)	Time/Place	Method	Independent Variables	Dependent Variables	Findings/ Conclusions
Warburton (1932)	USA 1890-1930	Longitudinal time series; before-after comparisons	National prohibition; alcohol prices; income; business cycle	Alcohol consumption, alcohol-related mortality, crime, morbidity, accidents	Prohibition reduced alcohol consumption and related disease morbidity/ mortality; effects of price increases greater on poor than rich
Nielsen & Sorensen (1979)	Denmark 1911-1975	Longitudinal time series	Alcohol prices	Mortality, DTs, alcoholism	Alcohol problems vary with relative price and per capita consumption
Thomas & Krasner (1978)	Rhode Island 1934-1976	Longitudinal time series	Unemployment, income	Alcohol consumption; cirrhosis, cancer mortality; homicide, divorce rate	Divorce, cirrhosis and alcohol consumption increases with income; beer consumption increases with unemployment
Brenner (1975)	USA (1935-1970)	Longitudinal time series	National economic indicators	Alcohol consumption; cirrhosis	Alcohol problems related to per capita alcohol consumption and economic instability
Popham, Schmidt, de Lint (1975)	Ontario, Canada 1928-1967; Europe, circa 1967	Longitudinal time series; cross-sectional comparisons	Relative price	Alcohol consumption; cirrhosis mortality	Relative price varies with consumption and cirrhosis; countries with high prices have less consumption and cirrhosis
Lau (1975)	Canada 1949-1969	Longitudinal time series	Income; price of alcohol & substitutes	Alcohol consumption	Income vs price elasticities of .68 vs -1.45 (spirits); .21 vs -.03 (beer); 1.43 vs -1.65 (wine); beer & spirits complement rather than substitute

TABLE 1. COMPENDIUM OF QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL ECONOMIC STUDIES (continued)

Author(s) (Year)	Time/Place	Method	Independent Variables	Dependent Variables	Findings/ Conclusions
Johnson & Oksanen (1977)	Canada 1955-1971	Longitudinal time series; pooled cross-sectional data	Price, income, education, ethnicity, religion, liquor strike	Demand for beer, wine, liquor	Price income elasticities: -.22 vs .04 (beer); -0.91 vs 0.23 (spirits); -.50 vs -.01 (wine); sociological factors also contribute to demand
Schweitzer, Intriligator, Salehi (1983)	USA 1975	Cross-sectional	Income, price, retail outlets, tourism, urbanization, unemployment, legal purchase age	Demand for beer, spirits; alcoholism prevalence and mortality	Beer, spirits consumption explained best by tourism, drinking age, income, outlets, advertising, price; unemployment, price, tourism affect alcoholism and mortality rates
Davies (1983)	9 EEC countries, 1950-1973	Cross-sectional; longitudinal	Price, taxation levels	Alcohol consumption; cirrhosis mortality	Countries with low taxes have highest rates of consumption & cirrhosis; rising prices not always reflected in decreasing consumption trends
Cook (1983)	USA 1960-1975	Before-after comparison	Liquor tax increase	Alcohol consumption, cirrhosis mortality, traffic fatalities	Liquor consumption price elasticity = -1.60

The policy questions investigated range from the effects of small-scale tax increases (Cook, 1983) to the impact of national Prohibition (Warburton, 1932) and other government control measures (Popham et al., 1975). Of secondary interest has been the development of empirical models to account for the causes, effects and modifications of alcohol-related health problems (Schweitzer et al., 1983; Popham et al., 1975).

The variety of issues addressed and variables investigated are in themselves testimony to the diversity of economic factors implicated with population level changes in alcohol consumption and its societal consequences. While there is no clear consensus about the individual or combined influence of these variables, the findings summarized in Table 1 and in more extensive reviews (Ornstein, 1980) permit several generalizations. First, price and income do appear to be influential in the demand for alcoholic beverages although the policy implications of this finding have been subject to heated debate (Parker and Harman, 1978; Schmidt and Popham, 1978). Time series analysis of historical variations in beverage prices as well as cross-sectional comparisons of states or countries with contrasting price structures indicate that per capita alcohol consumption is greater when price is low, relative to disposable income or to the price structure of other commodities. One of the most striking examples of this effect is reported by Nielsen and Sorensen (1979). Their survey of alcohol prices and consumption in Denmark between 1911 and 1975 showed that the relative price of alcohol varied closely with per capita consumption. The most dramatic decline in consumption occurred in 1917 when there was an almost twofold increase in the price of beer and a twelvefold increase in the price of akvavit, a distilled beverage that accounted for more than 75% of the Danes' alcohol intake up to that time. Within two years, beer and akvavit consumption had declined to 62% and 22%, respectively, of their former levels. With the gradual increase in earning power relative to beverage prices since the 1940s, the consumption of both beverages has risen steadily.

Econometric studies using both time series and cross-sectional data from Canada suggest that liquor tends to be price elastic and beer price inelastic (Lau, 1975; Johnson and Oksanen, 1977). Lau found that liquor and wine consumption tended to increase with rising income, but these results were not replicated by Johnson and Oksanen (1977, 1974). Popham et al. (1975) have argued that it is not absolute beverage price but the price relative to income that is the important variable. Their data show that the two variables tend to parallel each other closely over time. It is difficult to reconcile the results of these correlational studies with those of econometric investigations because elasticity estimates are not attempted. Further, Davies' (1983) study of longitudinal trends in nine European nations indicates that in some countries (e.g., Ireland, France) rising prices are not always reflected in decreased consumption.

For reasons to be discussed shortly, it is risky to place too much emphasis on the results of individual studies in view of the somewhat contradictory conclusions which have been drawn from econometric and correlational research on alcohol consumption (see, for example, McLure and Thirsk, 1978; Meerman, 1980; McLure and Thirsk, 1980; Parker and Harman, 1978; Schmidt and Popham, 1978; Ornstein, 1980; Bruun et al., 1975). In a review of more than 27 econometric studies that estimated price or income elasticities, McLure and Thirsk (1978) concluded that while the demand for alcoholic beverages may be income elastic, price elasticity estimates tend to be consistently smaller than

one. Thus, increases in income are likely to be associated with proportional increases in alcohol consumption while increases in price are likely to produce less than proportional decreases in consumption. However, as these authors and their critics (e.g., Meerman, 1980) have noted, the elasticity picture may change when alcoholic beverages are disaggregated into separate components. A review of 22 studies that are disaggregated by beverage types (Ornstein, 1980) suggests that, 1) the demand for beer is price and income inelastic (i.e., an increase in income or in the price of beer will produce a less than proportional change in beer consumption); 2) the demand for liquor is relatively price elastic, but the income data are inconclusive. This brief review of econometric research would tend to support Ornstein (1980: 817) who notes that "demand estimation is a difficult and inexact business. The results are strongly affected by the data and econometric techniques used." Before returning to this point in detail in the following section, it will be instructive to review the results of the remaining studies summarized in Table 1.

A logical extension of the consumption-price hypothesis has been made by some researchers to include the health-related consequences of excessive alcohol consumption. A number of studies using data sets from a variety of countries and time periods have reported significant statistical associations between price and income on the one hand, and alcohol-related consequences on the other. These include cirrhosis mortality (Nielsen and Sorensen, 1979; Thomas and Krasner, 1978; Popham et al., 1975), mortality from delirium tremens, cancer mortality, alcoholism prevalence as well as the incidence of accidents, divorce, and crime.

In some studies the matrix of explanatory variables has been expanded further. Warburton (1932), in one of the earliest and most comprehensive studies, evaluated the economic effects of national Prohibition in the United States. Warburton's study is interesting because it reflects the economic issues that were debated by advocates and opponents of alcohol control policy in the early part of the 20th century. Using consumption estimates derived in part from cirrhosis death rates, Warburton concluded that per capita consumption, particularly in the form of beer, declined about one-third during Prohibition. Despite reduced consumption, expenditures for alcoholic beverages by primarily middle and upper income groups were not judged to be affected. This is explained by the tendency for prices to increase dramatically during Prohibition, a trend that affected the poor more than the rich. The social and health consequences of excessive drinking were found to decline during Prohibition as well, specifically industrial accidents, some forms of crime, and mortality from cirrhosis and alcoholism. These effects were most pronounced among the working class segment of the population and during the early years of Prohibition.

In addition to the implication of price as a mediating factor in the determination of the health consequences, Warburton also conducted an analysis of alcohol consumption as it relates to variation in the business cycle prior to Prohibition. Between 1880 and 1914, both alcohol consumption and expenditures for alcoholic beverages varied with business fluctuations, rising in years of prosperity and falling in years of depression or recession. Deviations from the "normal" (average) business cycle were found to correlate significantly with average deviations in the consumption of spirits ($r=.62$), beer ($r=.41$) and all beverages combined ($r=.66$). The data reflected a tendency for consumption to shift from spirits to beer in times of economic downturns.

In his efforts to disaggregate the populations affected by Prohibition and to link general fluctuations in the business cycle to the price and income changes affecting alcohol consumption in these populations, Warburton was the first to address a perplexing problem in the interpretation of economic influences on alcohol consumption. That is, if relative price and disposable income correlate with consumption and its consequences, why do the rich not suffer more from the consequences of excessive drinking than the poor? It was not until Brenner's (1975) study of the relation between economic fluctuations and alcohol consumption trends that this notion was explored in detail. Brenner analyzed the relationships between per capita alcohol consumption, national economic indicators and indicators of alcoholism for various periods between 1931 and 1970. Brenner found that while the long-term trend in personal income was positively related to per capita alcohol consumption, short-term fluctuations in the two variables showed a strong inverse relationship. That is, drinking, especially in the form of distilled spirits, also increases within months of an economic downturn. Given a two- to three-year time lag, cirrhosis mortality increased with long-term trends in personal income, and also following recessions. In fact, nearly the entire variation in cirrhosis mortality trends from 1933 to 1973 was associated with the combined effects of unemployment and per capita personal income. Other alcohol-related problem indicators (drunkenness arrests, hospital admissions, alcoholic psychosis) showed analagous relationships to these variables.

These findings support the proposition that alcohol consumption generally increases during prosperous and stable periods while spirits consumption additionally responds to short-term economic stress. The divergent consumption patterns of two different drinking populations are invoked to explain these somewhat anomalous relationships between economic factors and spirits consumption. It is hypothesized that one group uses alcohol under conditions of general prosperity and stability, perhaps because of the greater availability of discretionary income. The other drinks distilled spirits under conditions of economic stress. Brenner cautions against models that postulate a direct relation between rising per capita consumption and the incidence of alcohol problems. At least one additional variable is thought to be necessary to explain this association: conditions of social instability and stress. This interpretation would suggest why the affluent suffer no more from the ravages of alcoholism than the poor: the latter are affected more by economic downturns than the former; and among a certain vulnerable portion of this population alcohol is commonly used as a response to stress.

Brenner's study illustrates a trend toward the integration of economic, sociological and epidemiological variables into a more comprehensive examination of the complex relations between alcohol and public health. Other studies within this genre have generally employed regression techniques to predict alcohol-related mortality and morbidity from aggregate data on alcohol consumption. Schweitzer et al. (1983) found that beer and spirits consumption is related not only to price, but also to amount of advertising, degree of local tourism, legal drinking age and the number of retail outlets. Prevalence of alcoholism and alcohol-related mortality, in turn, seems to vary with unemployment rates, price changes and tourism. Using a different combination of variables, Thomas and Krasner (1978) found beer consumption increases with unemployment, and that rising income correlates positively with both alcohol consumption and cirrhosis mortality. The findings emerging from these newer

multivariate studies are generally not comparable because of differences in methodology, sample characteristics, and variables included in the model. Nevertheless, they do suggest the need for relatively complex multivariate models to account for the relationships among economic variables, alcohol consumption and alcohol-related problems.

a) Methodological Issues

Having reviewed the purposes, scope and conclusions of the econometric and public health studies summarized in Table 1, it is now appropriate to evaluate these studies in terms of the validity of their findings. The concept of validity can be applied in two ways. First, to what extent does the designated independent variable (e.g., price or income) really account for the variations observed in the dependent variable (e.g., alcohol consumption or cirrhosis rates)? This is known as internal validity. Second, assuming that causal inferences can be made with confidence, to what extent are the observed relationships generalizable to other populations, situations, countries, or time periods? This is the concept of external validity. The validity of these studies, both internal and external, can be compromised by a number of factors, including methodological flaws, inadequate assessment techniques, and limitations of theory. In the following critique each of these potential threats to validity will be discussed employing criteria primarily derived from Campbell and Stanley (1963).

As summarized in Table 1, three types of "quasi-experimental" research designs have been employed: 1) longitudinal time series analyses, 2) cross-sectional comparisons, and 3) before-after comparisons. Studies based on longitudinal time-series typically employ a set of observations on variables (e.g., price, consumption) describing the same unit of analysis (such as a nation, state, etc.) over a series of time points (years, months, etc.). Discontinuity in the dependent variable corresponding to the introduction of, or changes in, the independent variable is used as the basis for making causal inferences and statistical estimates of elasticity.

A major problem with all of the studies employing this design is the lack of an equivalent control group time series to provide a baseline against which to compare the effects of economic change. Without monitoring a group which is not exposed to the variable presumed to be underlying change, causal interpretations may be overstated and alternative explanations may be ignored. For example, Nielsen and Sorensen conclude that: "One of the essential causes of the remarkable increase in alcohol consumption by approximately 400% from the 1940s to 1975 has most probably been the approximately 400% increase in purchasing power concerning alcohol in relation to income." (1979: 133). A rival hypothesis might be that a third variable not included in the researchers' model was responsible for the association between purchasing power and consumption. It is conceivable that as income increases, there are concomitant changes in leisure time and attitudes toward alcohol. It could be that without positive attitudes toward drinking and more leisure time to drink, increased income is irrelevant.

In addition to the failure to control for simultaneously occurring events, longitudinal data can be affected by maturation effects. Many of the studies summarized in Table 1 fail to take into account possible changes in the age and

sex structure of populations under consideration. In the years following World War II, the proportion of males to females and youth to adults has changed significantly in many countries. Changes in the population structures of many countries are likely to affect per capita consumption levels independent of changes in income and price. To the extent that sustained economic growth is associated with linear trends in both income and population structure, this may constitute an important source of confounding.

Yet another source of misinterpretation in longitudinal studies is the direction of causality. As Cook (1983) points out, price changes in longitudinal studies are often assumed to be exogenous occurrences which are independent of demand. In actuality, demand, in some instances, may also determine price, particularly with respect to commodities that are in relatively fixed supply, like aged whiskey and champagne. Likewise, legislative decisions to change alcohol taxes may be related to trends in sales affecting tax revenues. An increase in tax levels could be a response to declining alcohol consumption rather than a cause of it.

Finally, to the extent that quasi-experimental longitudinal studies by definition depend on "naturally" occurring events for the timing and intensity of the independent variable, generalizations to other times and places may be limited by the unique conditions of a particular study. As Room (1978) has pointed out, when the Prohibition era and World War II years are eliminated from U.S. time series, the remaining years are dominated by linear upward trend in many variables that are all associated with sustained economic growth. Further, the range of values available in any given time series may be inadequate for valid elasticity estimates. Because price elasticity varies along a straight line demand curve, prices or taxes must be raised to a level sufficient to push a beverage into the elastic region. Without studying a complete range of prices, causal inferences and the elasticity estimate on which they are based, may not be generalizable. External validity may also be compromised by cultural differences in attitudes about drinking. As Davies (1983) has shown, elasticity estimates differ from one country to another, and may be determined in part by the utility value associated with beverages. In France, wine seems to be relatively price inelastic, conceivably because of its importance as a beverage and nutrient with meals.

Another problem with the interpretation of elasticity estimates derived from longitudinal time series data is the general failure to take cumulative effects into account. A short-term change in consumption occurring at the same time as changes in price or income may actually be dependent on the cumulative effects of previous changes. As Houthakker and Taylor (1960) note, there are dynamic features in consumers' expenditure and prices, but these may be affected by past consumption and by the cumulative contributions of new information regarding substitutes.

One variant of the longitudinal design is the "before-after" comparison conducted by Warburton (1932). In this "interrupted" time series design, statistical trends before and during the Prohibition period are compared giving special emphasis to interruptions in the data series that can be associated with the imposition of Prohibition. A major problem with Warburton's data lies in the important changes in the demographic structure of the U.S. population occurring at about the same time as national Prohibition. In addition to the mobilization

of a significant proportion of the male population during World War I, severe restrictions were imposed on immigration from southern Europe in the years following the war. Because many types of alcohol problems were concentrated among the urban immigrants, these demographic changes were likely to have influenced the indicators Warburton summarized in his study. Warburton's conclusions concerning mortality from cirrhosis and other alcohol-related disabilities may also be compromised by the inability of his research design to control for longitudinal trends in mortality which began in the period before Prohibition and continued uninterrupted during the Prohibition years. Specifically, Warburton fails to note that mortality from all diseases, including cirrhosis, had already begun to decline before World War I. Without an appropriate "control" time series to evaluate the progress of these trends independent of Prohibition, Warburton's conclusions may be seriously compromised.

One alternative to the problems inherent in the evaluation of time series data is to make "static" comparisons of population groups which have experienced economic change with groups which have not. For example, Davies (1983) as well as Popham et al. (1975) compared European countries in terms of alcohol prices, alcohol consumption, and cirrhosis mortality. Although both studies found lower consumption and cirrhosis rates in countries where alcohol prices and alcohol taxes were higher, the validity of these conclusions can be questioned in light of limitations in the cross-sectional, comparative methodology employed. One problem derives from the selection of countries to include in the comparison. It cannot be assumed, for example, that countries are similar in all respects except for the presumed independent variable (e.g., price). The differences observed in these cross-national comparisons may reflect differences in habits of consumption or in popular attitudes toward alcohol, both of which could affect price decisions, taxation policies, and alcohol consumption itself. This is particularly true in comparisons of the predominantly Catholic wine consuming countries with predominantly Protestant beer or liquor drinking nations. The generally positive attitudes toward wine in the Mediterranean countries may result in strong popular support for agricultural subsidies and low taxation, and at the same time provide a climate for high consumption. Without controlling for these different use values, causal inferences may be mistaken.

Although econometric methods had been a major influence on conceptualization of alcohol control policy, limitations inherent in the kinds of data available and in the methods of analysis have been noted by a number of researchers (Cook, 1983; Bruun et al., 1975; McLure and Thirsk, 1978). Price elasticity of demand for alcohol is usually assessed from aggregate data collected across regions with different price structures, or within regions over time periods when prices have changed. There is little reason to expect that elasticity estimates based on these different geograhical regions, time periods and price ranges should necessarily coincide from one study to another. Further, the data have not usually been collected specifically for the purpose of elasticity demand estimates, but rather for the purposes of specific governmental agencies. These data sources may not be as complete or as relevant to the questions investigated as one would desire. Therefore, assumptions must be made which necessarily qualify the generalizability of the model.

In general, the strength of relationships observed in both econometric and multivariate correlational studies will be affected by the quality of data

available to estimate prices, alcohol consumption and alcohol-related problems. Liquor wholesalers may not always provide accurate reports to tax authorities, and conformity to reporting requirements may be affected by differences in enforcement which vary from one country or locality to another. Consumption estimates will be biased further by the amount of alcohol produced illegally or imported across national or regional borders, and by the accumulation or depletion of inventories. Problem indicators, estimated from aggregate statistics, are also subject to distortion by national, historical and regional differences in reporting techniques. Mäkelä et al. (1981) have shown that alcohol-related health ailments, accident statistics, hospital admission rates and arrest data are subject to national idiosyncracies in reporting procedures and to the attribution of problems to alcohol consumption. While these problems do not entirely preclude time series analyses or cross-national comparisons, differences in the quality of the data available may lead to spurious findings. Cirrhosis mortality, considered by many researchers as the most objective indicator of heavy alcohol consumption, may vary significantly according to diagnostic procedures and death certificate recording techniques. Further, cirrhosis deaths represent only one extreme on a continuum of alcohol-related health consequences, and may be related more to a particular pattern of drinking than to the social consequences of aggregate consumption.

Econometric and correlational studies can also be faulted for failure to take into account relevant factors affecting price, such as point of purchase (on premise, off premise) and circumstances of consumption. Many drinkers have their personal costs subsidized or assumed completely by employers, relatives and friends. These limitations in the nature and quality of aggregate data used to calculate elasticity estimates and regression co-efficients may mask real and significant relationships that would be evident were better data available.

Given the changes in consumer preferences, demographic structure, and other social, cultural and economic factors, other limitations in studies based on aggregate data derive from the degree to which values reflecting past or present consumption can be used to predict future consumption. Another inferential problem results from the assumption of symmetry in the use of elasticity estimates. As Bruun et al. (1975) have noted, the co-efficient of price elasticity based on falling real prices may not be applicable to predict the behaviour of consumers under conditions where real prices are increasing or where abrupt changes in cost take place. In addition, heavy consumers, who account for a large proportion of increases in aggregate consumption, may be relatively unresponsive to price increases since alcohol dependence may have developed to the point that price considerations are relatively minor determinants of their decision to drink.

b) The Ecological Fallacy

An unspoken assumption implicit in much of the quasi-experimental research reviewed here is that statistical measures computed from group or aggregate level data (e.g., national, state, or regional indicators) have the same value as corresponding measures computed from individual level data (e.g., population surveys, observational measures). In recent years, empirically-minded social scientists have become increasingly concerned with the problem of inferring individual level behaviour from aggregate data (Langbein and Lichtman,

1978). The term ecological fallacy has been used to describe any incorrect inference about individual behaviour based on group data. The ecological fallacy is most evident in studies attempting to generalize from either aggregate level correlations (e.g., price with alcohol consumption; consumption with cirrhosis mortality) or elasticity estimates to the behaviour of individuals. When this is done, there are often serious discrepancies between the expected values of parameter estimates at the individual and aggregate levels.

One procedure designed to minimize the risk of fallacious inferences is to disaggregate the meaningful components of independent, dependent and intervening variables. By far the most obvious intervening variable in need of disaggregation is the consumption history of the drinker. Practically every author who has written about the policy implications of economic variables has lamented the fact that current models have been unable to differentiate among alcohol-dependent persons, heavy drinkers and moderate consumers (Davies, 1983; Cook, 1983; Miller and Agnew, 1974; Parker and Harman, 1978; Bruun et al., 1975). As stated by Cook (1983), "the most controversial aspect of this question is whether changes in the price of alcohol influence the drinking habits of heavy drinkers; this group accounts for the bulk of alcohol-related problems, and it is widely believed that the drinking habits of this group are insensitive to price" (p. 255-256). Other mediating variables in need of better specification are gender, age and point of purchase. Women tend to drink less and abstain more than men, and the male-female ratio varies greatly from country to country. In longitudinal studies it is important to note that females outnumber males at different age levels, particularly after wars. Differences in the age distribution across historical periods and between countries will also affect aggregate consumption levels independent of price variations. Finally, point of purchase or the context in which alcohol is bought and consumed should also be taken into account. The drinking context (e.g., home, neighbourhood tavern, cocktail lounge, restaurant, office cocktail party) is associated with drastically different economic and opportunity costs to the consumer. On-premise drinking, for example, includes a surcharge for ambiance, decor, entertainment, and social exposure.

A second approach to the problem of ecological validity is to substitute or complement quasi-experimental research with experimental studies. To the extent that social science is an empirical process in which theories, hypotheses, or models are accepted or rejected on the basis of external criteria, experimental research could be an extremely valuable means of exploring the relationships between drinking behaviour and economic variables. The essence of laboratory experimentation is the control and manipulation of conditions under which behaviour occurs. By varying these conditions systematically, the experimenter infers the causal effect of antecedent conditions (independent variables) on consequent events (dependent variables). In hypothesis-testing studies, the researcher usually focuses on a limited number of variables and attempts to control for external influences on the study situation. The experimental control occurring in the laboratory situation is designed to facilitate the discovery of new regularities under conditions that do not often exist in natural settings. This "experimental realism" is more apt to capture the essence of theoretical variables (Berkowitz and Donnerstein, 1982) but often at the expense of "mundane realism", i.e., surface resemblance to naturalistic settings. The artificiality of experimentation should be considered a strength rather than a weakness, however, since its purpose is to demonstrate causal

relationships, not to estimate the probability that a certain event will occur in a particular setting. Not all laboratory experiments lack ecological validity. Field experiments or analogue studies have been conducted in realistic situations under controlled conditions. Generalization to natural settings is therefore possible when experimental realism and mundane realism are combined in the same study.

A third approach to the problem of ecological validity is the naturalistic study. Naturalistic studies have the advantage of being heuristic, realistic and relevant to important social problems when they include three important dimensions: natural behaviour (e.g., drinking), natural settings (e.g., a tavern or bar) and natural treatment (e.g., price variations). In the following sections, the issues of ecological validity will be explored in greater detail by reviewing the small number of experimental and naturalistic studies that have examined drinking behaviour in relation to economic variables.

Experimental Studies

Although there has never been a systematic program of experimental research designed to investigate the interaction between economic variables and alcohol consumption, a number of studies have been conducted that are relevant to some of the most important questions raised by econometric and epidemiological studies. Table 2 presents a compendium of studies gleaned primarily from the behavioural and psychiatric literature. These studies will be discussed with respect to the three related methodological approaches, each of which is derived from the procedures of behavioural psychology.

The first series of studies was initiated by Mello and Mendelson (1968) to investigate the antecedents and consequences of alcoholic drinking patterns under controlled laboratory conditions. Alcoholics were given the opportunity to obtain beverage alcohol for performance of a simple operant task. By varying the task requirements over time or between matched groups, motivation for alcohol could be inferred by observing the rate of responding. In this model, drinking is viewed as an operant response that can be maintained and modified by the nature, magnitude and schedule of reinforcement following drinking. One question this research sought to answer concerned the extent to which alcoholic drinking patterns were sensitive to environmental contingencies.

One contingency manipulation was the amount of effort required to earn an ounce of beverage alcohol (Mello et al., 1968). In this study 23 chronic alcoholics were given free access to beverage alcohol over a seven-day period while living on a hospital research ward. Subjects worked at an operant task which required that they press a response key when a visual stimulus appeared. Sixteen subjects were required to produce 96 correct responses to obtain one ounce of bourbon. With accurate responding approximately seven ounces of alcohol could be earned in one hour. The remaining subjects (N=16) could earn comparable amounts of alcohol for half as much work (48 correct responses per ounce). The response requirements were converted into monetary equivalents (48 correct responses = 45 cents) and subjects had the choice of either saving their earnings or spending the money on alcohol. Most subjects showed a definite preference for alcohol over monetary reinforcement, even though the money accumulated would have allowed a sustained period of drinking at a later time.

TABLE 2

COMPENDIUM OF EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES

Study	Type of Drinker	Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Findings
Vuchinich & Tucker (1983)	54 male college students	Amount of money paid per unit work; delay in receipt of money	Amount of work expended for alcohol vs money	Preference for alcohol varied negatively with amount of money paid for work and positively with delay of payment
Babor et al. (1978)	20 casual, 14 heavy non-alcoholic male drinkers	50% reduction in drink price	Amount of alcohol consumed; BAC levels	Afternoon price reduction increased alcohol consumption, price increase reduced consumption
Babor et al. (1980)	20 casual, 14 heavy non-alcohol male drinkers	50% reduction in drink price	Length of drinking episodes	Afternoon price reduction increased number of multiple drink episodes
Mello, McNamee & Mendelson (1968)	23 chronic alcoholics	Amount of work required to earn alcohol: 48 correct responses per oz (16 subjects) vs 96 correct responses (7 subjects)	Amount consumed over 7-day period; average BALs	No difference between groups in total amount consumed over 7 days; average BAL of high response group 50% of low response group
Mello & Mendelson (1972)	26 chronic alcoholics	Free alcohol (18 subjects) vs work contingent access (8 subjects)	Pattern of consumption and consequences	Work contingent condition produced alternating periods of drinking/abstinence and partial withdrawal symptoms
Cohen et al. (1971)	4 diagnosed alcoholics	Payment for abstinence; delay of reinforcement; priming dose of alcohol	Amount of alcohol consumed	Delay of reinforcement weakened abstinence; increased incentives reinstated it
Bigelow & Liebson I (1972)	2 chronic alcoholics	Amount of work required to earn alcohol	Amount of alcohol consumed	Drinking reduced at higher work requirements

TABLE 2. **COMPENDIUM OF EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES** (continued)

Study	Type of Drinker	Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Findings
Bigelow & Liebson II (1972)	4 chronic alcoholics	Price of drinks (after first two)	Rate and amount of drinking	Higher price produced greater temporal spacing of drinks
Griffiths, Bigelow & Liebson (1975)	4 chronic alcoholics	Priming dose of alcohol	Choice of money or socializing	Socializing preferred over money during periods of alcohol consumption; money less reinforcing during intoxication

Although the researchers did not report direct comparisons between the low and high response groups, the raw data indicate no differences in the average daily amounts consumed (approximately 16.6 drinks, low cost condition; 16.9 drinks, high cost condition). The lack of effect could have resulted from the relatively low cost of alcohol in both conditions. Nevertheless, subjects who were required to work harder for their alcohol were found to have 50% lower average blood alcohol levels (BALs) over the course of the experiment. This suggests that subjects in the high response cost condition distributed their drinking over a longer period of time each day.

In a related study, Mello and Mendelson (1968) compared the drinking patterns of two groups of alcoholics under conditions which allowed either unrestricted access to alcohol (N=18) or work contingent alcohol acquisition (N=8) in which approximately 12 oz. of alcohol could be earned in a single hour of steady work. Work-contingent alcohol acquisition was characterized by alternations between drinking episodes and relatively abstinent work periods during which partial withdrawal symptoms were experienced. Subjects given unrestricted access to alcohol generally achieved higher average daily BALs (between .15 and .20 mg) that remained stable for periods of 8 to 15 days. The results suggest that while cost/effort requirements may reduce the amount and frequency of intoxication, these variables may also increase the level of discomfort in highly dependent drinkers.

A second series of studies in which economic variables were manipulated was conducted by researchers at Baltimore City Hospital (Cohen et al., 1971; Bigelow and Liebson, 1972; Griffiths et al., 1975). These studies were designed to demonstrate how environmental contingencies could be used to achieve therapeutic goals such as abstinence or moderation. In one experiment Cohen et al. (1971) studied four chronic alcoholics in a hospital research ward similar to that used by Mello and Mendelson (1968). Subjects were offered monetary incentives if they refused available alcohol. The price required to "buy" abstinence varied from subject to subject. Two subjects were offered payment for abstinence that was delayed from three to 21 days. Delay of reinforcement disrupted abstinence while an increased incentive reinstated it. In another variation, subjects were required to drink a priming dose of alcohol in the morning and received payment if they did not consume available alcohol during the remainder of the day. Like delay of reinforcement, the priming dose weakened subsequent abstinence, but an increase in the magnitude of reinforcement reinstated it. These results suggest that the monetary consequences of moderate drinking or abstinence have an important effect on maintaining these behaviours. By making the amount of money an alcoholic can obtain or save contingent on the act of drinking, even alcoholics who have had a priming dose are apparently capable of moderating their drinking behaviour.

Two experiments by Bigelow and Liebson (1972) replicated and extended the findings of previous studies. In the first experiment two skid row alcoholics were allowed to earn drinks by a lever-pulling task over a 14 day period. The number of responses needed to purchase drinks varied on different days between 100 and 5,000. Each subject showed a progressive decline in the amount of drinking at increasing response requirements. At the lowest requirement, one subject consumed the maximum amount of alcohol available (24 drinks) while the other purchased 17 drinks. At the highest response requirement, subjects drank less than four drinks per day on the average.

In the second experiment four alcoholics were given a fixed number of tokens each day that could be used to purchase drinks. During control phases of the experiment the price of drinks was set at one token. During the experimental phase the price of drinks increased to three or four tokens if the subject chose to drink more than two drinks in a single hour. For all subjects the progressive cost condition was effective in reducing the frequency of high-density, concentrated drinking.

These experiments suggest that the cost of alcohol, both in terms of physical effort and prevailing market value, can have a powerful effect on the total amount of consumption and the temporal distribution of drinking. As shown in the first experiment, alcoholics will apparently taper or reduce their drinking even in the course of a drinking binge. Another important finding is that alcoholic drinking was modified by the delayed or remote consequence of having the total amount available in a given day reduced by too rapid consumption. Subjects generally refused drinks, or drank more slowly, when this made it possible to purchase slightly more alcohol at a later time.

The third group of studies summarized in Table 2 deals with the drinking behaviour of non-alcoholic drinkers. Vuchinich and Tucker (1983) studied 54 male college students in a choice situation with two behavioural alternatives: 1) access to alcohol, and 2) access to money. Like the studies described previously, access to money or alcohol was determined by performance of a simple operant task (button pressing). The amount of money available per unit of work was manipulated at two levels (2 cents and 10 cents) and the delay of receipt of the money was manipulated at three levels (no delay, 2 weeks, 8 weeks). The results showed that subjects' preference for alcohol varied negatively with amount of money and positively with delay. These findings support hypotheses derived from behavioural theory that drinking involves choices between an immediately available, small reward (alcohol consumption) and larger, more delayed rewards that can be gained by engaging in alternative activities.

The remaining studies (Babor _et al._, 1978; 1980) consist of experimental and naturalistic investigations of a discount drink policy known as the "happy hour". In one experiment (Babor _et al._, 1978), male volunteers with a prior history of either casual (N=20) or heavy (N=14) drinking were given free access to beverage alcohol during a 20-day period. Approximately half the subjects could purchase alcohol under a single-price condition (50 cents per drink), while a matched group was given a price reduction daily (25 cents per drink) during a three-hour period in the afternoon. The results demonstrated that the afternoon price reduction significantly increased alcohol consumption in both casual and heavy drinkers. Reinstatement of the standard purchase price effectively suppressed drinking in both groups. In the second study (Babor _et al._, 1980) systematic observations of natural drinking behaviour were conducted on 16 regular bar patrons in a small tavern over a six week period. Variations in amount and rate of drinking, as well as distribution of drinking episodes, were studied in relation to attendance or nonattendance at an afternoon "happy hour". The results indicated that amount and rate of drinking were increased dramatically by the happy hour condition and, to a lesser extent, by the presence of entertainment and the company of other drinkers.

a) Critique and Discussion

Like the quasi-experimental studies reviewed previously, these laboratory investigations have limitations that compromise both the internal and external validity of the findings. Because all of the studies are based on small numbers of subjects, the findings should be generalized with caution to the broader populations of alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinkers. Only two experiments (Babor et al., 1978; 1980) actually compared the relative effects of economic variables on different types of drinkers. The operant research designs employed in all of the research on alcoholic subjects do not lend themselves to group comparisons since they focus primarily on intra-individual variation. Further, none of these studies was designed to investigate hypotheses derived from economic theory. Rather, the introduction of economic variables was determined by the researcher's interest in manipulating a powerful reinforcer to observe its effects on alcohol consumption. The most obvious criticism of these investigations is that the settings and experimental manipulations are hardly representative of naturalistic drinking environments. The highly controlled nature of laboratory procedures may mask the operation of other factors that govern the specific behaviour of drinkers in the natural environment. What these studies do indicate, however, is that price, effort and delay of reinforcement can influence the drinking behaviour of alcoholics and heavy drinkers, and that the causal associations between drinking and economic variables are far more evident than those observed in quasi-experimental designs.

Despite their limitations the experimental studies are important from both heuristic and practical points of view. Heuristically, the findings from alcoholic subjects suggest tentative answers to some of the most pressing questions raised by the quasi-experimental research findings. Do economic variables affect the drinking behaviour of alcoholics? The results of almost all of the experimental studies indicate that persons diagnosed as "chronic" or "skid row" alcoholics will modify and even moderate their drinking in response to economic contingencies, including the price of alcohol, delay of reinforcement for alternative activities and payment for temporary abstinence (Cohen et al., 1971; Bigelow and Liebson, 1972). Is economic behaviour affected by ethanol intoxication? This question is most often posed with respect to the observation that alcoholics are incapable of, or unwilling to, control their drinking after consuming an initial drink. The results of several studies indicate that loss of control is not the inevitable result of a priming dose of alcohol, especially when the prevailing contingencies of reinforcement favour abstinence or moderation (Cohen et al., 1971; Bigelow and Liebson, 1972; Mello et al., 1968). Nevertheless, alcohol intoxication does seem to alter the relative reinforcement value of money and socializing such that the former is viewed as less desirable than the latter (Griffiths et al., 1974). Do alcoholics differ from non-alcoholics in their responsivity to economic incentives for drinking or abstinence? No study has yet to address this issue, although Babor et al. (1978) did demonstrate that heavy drinkers were as responsive as casual drinkers to the afternoon price manipulation.

One of the most encouraging findings of the happy hour studies conducted by Babor and his colleagues (1978) is the extent to which the discount drink policy was associated with similar alterations in drinking behaviour in both laboratory and natural settings (Babor et al., 1980). These studies suggest that the strengths of both research designs can be combined in complementary studies that move from laboratory analogues to more complicated natural settings. To

date, observational studies conducted in naturalistic settings have employed a static, cross-sectional methodology. On a given occasion in a given public drinking setting, groups or categories of drinkers are typically described with respect to the rate, amount, or conditions of drinking (Williams and Brown, 1974; Kessler and Gomberg, 1974; Billings et al., 1976; Sommer, 1965). Sommer (1965), for example, found that in Canadian beer parlours isolated drinkers consumed half as much alcohol as group drinkers. In related observational studies (Cutler and Storm, 1975; Rosenbluth et al., 1978) it has been reported that the rate, amount and duration of drinking vary directly with group size. One interpretation of these findings is that consumption level is in part a function of the sum total of social influences. Another interpretation is that heavy drinkers tend to have more drinking companions, or at least have a stronger preference for drinking in company. Two advantages of the longitudinal monitoring procedure described in the Babor et al. (1980) report are that individual background characteristics can be more easily specified, and that the full range of individual variability can be studied under different environmental circumstances. This methodology approximates the degree of experimental control found in laboratory investigations without any sacrifice in ecological validity.

b) Implications for Research and Prevention Policy

To provide an example of the potential of observational studies to answer policy-related questions, Table 3 summarizes information gleaned from a review of 38 newspaper advertisements appearing in the Hartford Advocate (Feb. 29, 1984), a weekly entertainment guide and political commentary. Almost three-quarters (74%) of the restaurant and bar advertisements contained references to the price of alcohol. Since many advertisements contained several price quotations for different days of the week, the total number of price variations advertised was 148. Reductions in the usual price of liquor accounted for the largest proportion of price discounts (36%), followed by the provision of a free drink ("Twofers") with each purchase at the standard price (33%). In a smaller number of advertisements free drinks were available to women only (5%) or an unlimited number of drinks was permitted after payment of a cover charge (7%). Almost all of the drink discounts were limited to certain days of the week and times of the day. Drink discounts were most prevalent on Wednesday (22%) and Thursday (21%), and least prevalent on Saturday (8%) and Sunday (6%). Fifty-eight percent of the price reductions began in the afternoon with Friday being the day when afternoon "happy hours" were advertised the most (82%).

The use of price incentives to market alcoholic beverages in public drinking establishments raises a number of important issues for research and prevention policy. First, to what extent do these practices encourage alcohol consumption at times of the day when drinking would not ordinarily be typical? The fact that price reductions are concentrated on weekdays suggests that drinking establishments are competing for a market that would otherwise choose to engage in non-drinking activities on those days. The fact that the incentives are further concentrated in the late afternoon hours, particularly Friday afternoons, suggests that price is seen as a means of inducing the initiation of drinking so that consumption will continue after the price is raised to normal levels. To the extent that discount price incentives increase the volume of customers, particularly on slow days and off-peak hours, and increase the total amount of alcohol purchased by these customers, then economic incentives would seem to be wise

business practice. Such practices are consistent with the experimental evidence that suggests that the heaviest drinkers may be as sensitive to drink discounts as the lighter drinkers (Babor et al., 1978). For these individuals, drink discounts may serve as cues or discriminative stimuli to a drinking episode, in addition to acting as reinforcers for drinking.

TABLE 3

Summary of Drink Discount Information Obtained from 38 Newspaper Advertisements

Type of Discount		Day of Week: Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Fri	Sat	Sun	Total	Percent
TwoFers		9	8	9	7	8	4	4	49	33%
Beer/Wine		3	5	7	7	3	1	2	28	19%
Liquor		6	8	8	11	12	7	1	53	36%
Open Bar/Cover		0	2	5	4	0	0	0	11	7%
Free Drinks		0	0	3	2	0	0	0	2	5%
TOTAL	N	18	23	32	31	23	12	9	148	
	%	12%	16%	22%	21%	16%	8%	6%		100%

Source: The Hartford Advocate, Feb., 1984.

A crucial question that should guide any discussion of alcohol control policy concerns the extent to which price advertising and price reductions have an impact on public health and public safety. It can be argued, for example, that the massing of drinks during a late afternoon happy hour increases the probability of drunken driving during hours of peak traffic flow in major urban areas (4-8 p.m.). Not only would these practices increase the probability of intoxication in persons with low tolerance to alcohol, they would also provide an incentive for highly tolerant drinkers to drink as fast as possible, thereby increasing the chances that even these individuals will exceed their tolerance level. Thus, it can be predicted that the negative effects associated with acute intoxication in public settings would be increased by discount drink practices. The use of experimental analogue research and naturalistic observational studies to explore policy implications of economic variables could provide extremely useful information to policymakers, legislators and public health authorities. Public drinking is often associated with accidents, violence and other social problems. The systematic use of observational procedures may suggest ways in which prevention policies could be formulated on the basis of empirical research findings.

Although price discounts have been standard practice during the long history of the public drinking establishment, only in recent years have drink prices become a prominent part of the commercial advertising used to attract customers to these establishments. The systematic nature of this advertising in terms of target groups, type of incentive and scheduling suggests that price reductions have become an important factor in the marketing of alcoholic beverages by public drinking establishments. As this paper has attempted to show, experimental and observational research methods could be adapted to

investigate some of the more important policy questions raised by this trend. Research on the economics of public drinking would be of interest not only because of the apparent power of price variables to affect alcohol consumption, but also because the price of alcoholic beverages and information about prices are regulated to a significant degree by alcohol control laws. Should it be determined that price and price advertising affect the societal and health consequences of public drinking, then policymakers may be in position to advocate the modification of alcohol control laws in the service of public health.

In the interest of directing more research attention to the issues raised in this review, the following points could be considered as a set of working hypotheses to guide the planning of research and the formulation of policy alternatives:

1) Econometric and epidemiological studies, in addition to their methodological limitations, have focused primarily on the effects of economic variables on aggregate consumption and alcohol-related disabilities. These studies may not be entirely relevant to policies dealing with specific drinking contexts and with particular types of drinkers.

2) The small number of experimental studies have produced some unexpected findings about the causal mechanisms governing relations among economic variables, acute intoxication, and its immediate consequences. These data suggest that price, effort, delay of reinforcement and the availability of alternative activities may exert an important effect on the amount of drinking in public settings.

3) Alcohol control policies that increase the cost of alcohol, the delay or amount of effort in obtaining it, and the immediacy of alternative leisure activities may be instrumental in reducing the consequences associated with acute alcohol intoxication.

4) The traditional distinction between social drinkers and alcoholics may not be useful if it is assumed that alcoholics are totally unresponsive to economic contingencies. On the contrary, the available evidence suggests that alcoholics may respond to a price incentive in terms of the ability of its discriminative properties and its reinforcement value to make alcohol consumption seem more economical.

5) Because of differing theoretical and methodological orientations, the complementarity between economic and experimental research has not been explored. Given the potential of econometric, experimental and observational research to provide useful information to policymakers, multidisciplinary collaboration should be encouraged.

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THE INTEGRATION OF OBSERVATION WITH OTHER METHODS: SURVEYS OF PUBLIC DRINKING

Thomas C. Harford*

Introduction

This paper reviews and summarizes major findings related to public drinking which draw upon representative population surveys and other environmental-ecological studies. The major objective of such a review is the integration of survey findings with the now considerable literature provided by observational studies of taverns and bars. Such a collation may be seen as yielding two levels of information: 1) survey findings which confirm, or contradict, those obtained from observational studies; 2) findings which provide a broader context in which to interpret observational findings.

Comparability between the findings from an observational study in one particular site and reports from population surveys can be interpreted as validating information obtained from observations. For example, surveys have consistently reported that men are more frequent patrons at taverns and bars than are women. Generally, a similar sex ratio is reported by observational studies, though the ratio can indeed vary by site. While this finding may appear both trivial and obvious, it provides a viable framework in assessing these literatures. The general comparability of sex ratio of patrons between surveys and observational studies provides an important context for interpreting variations in sex ratios at different observational sites. It implicates factors related to the variability of site functions or other ecological characteristics of the site. A discrepancy between findings based on the two methods, however, does not imply a lack of validity for either method. It is well known that different methods often yield different results. The same can be said when similar methods are used.

The fact that only a few studies have attempted to integrate observational studies within the context of community characteristics and surveys (Mass Observation, 1943; Plant, 1975; Plant et al., 1977; Storm and Cutler, 1981) limits a major analysis at this level of comparability.

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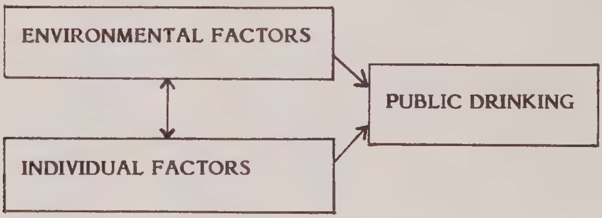
* National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, Rockville, Maryland.

The basic differences in the methodologies underlying observational studies and population surveys further limit the analysis of the comparabilities of their respective findings. Observational studies of taverns are not representative of all taverns in any particular area. Surveys provide a breadth of coverage that cannot be achieved by other methods. In that regard, they lend themselves to more general questions related to bar patronage.

The present review of survey findings thus addresses a broader array of correlates and antecedents of public drinking. In order to meaningfully organize and integrate survey findings with those of observational studies, a working model is needed. A cue can be taken from the general framework of each of these two traditions. Observational studies focus on a wide variety of subject matter but are generally concerned with behaviours within the site of observation. Surveys, on the other hand, attend to broader coverage of populations and attitudes as correlates of or antecedents to public drinking. A simple working model can be schematized as follows:



This model classifies public drinking as one of many contexts in which people consume alcohol. Public drinking contexts yield considerable variation with respect to types of physical settings (e.g., bars, taverns, restaurants, parks, alleys, street corners, picnic areas). The remainder of this report restricts the concept of public drinking to licensed premises where alcohol is sold and consumed. This definition is also very restrictive since it does not address the variety of establishments subsumed under the term "on-premise" outlet. This is the result of a major shortcoming of the survey literature in which taverns, bars, etc. are treated as one general category.

The dichotomy of antecedents into environmental and individual factors follows a strong tradition in social science in explaining social behaviour. Its conceptual applicability to public drinking should be apparent.

The production and distribution of alcoholic beverages represent important environmental dimensions for a study of public drinking contexts. The availability of alcohol is regulated by legislation on pricing and taxation, age requirements for purchase, the number and location of sales outlets, and the hours and days of sale. Bruun et al. (1975) argue that alcohol availability is an important factor in the overall consumption of alcoholic beverages.

A comprehensive understanding of the facets of public drinking, however, is not to be found wholly in the objective environment of the physical availability of alcohol. Smart (1977) differentiates physical availability from subjective

availability in terms of individual differences in how accessible alcohol is felt to be. The degree of mobilization and expenditure of effort may be seen to vary among individuals with similar access to physical availability. Smart (1977) also considers the notion of economic availability, which he terms the "affordability" of alcoholic beverages to the consumer. Studies have demonstrated a relationship between the price of alcoholic beverages and overall consumption (Seeley, 1960; Schmidt and Popham, 1977). While one might then expect to find an association between such demographic characteristics as socioeconomic status and income (average disposable income) and the frequency of tavern patronage, consideration must be given to the variability of on-premise settings and the extent to which they accommodate subpopulations of varying socioeconomic status. Finally, it should be noted that taverns are not just places to drink but represent opportunities for socialization and interaction with others. Smart (1977) also considers the concept of social availability in which family status and social networks impose competing alternatives. Drinkers tend to have friends who are drinkers. The extent and nature of social activity may be seen as related to the probability of exposure to settings where alcohol is available.

A consideration of both environmental and individual factors is relevant for the study of public drinking contexts. Taverns and bars are not uniformly distributed in society. State and local ordinances, and their enforcement, define the frequency of outlets in communities, the hours of sale, and the legal drinking age among patrons. The physical availability of taverns and bars, however, is but one source of influence. Social norms and personal motives influence the appropriateness of tavern patronage. In sum, taverns and bars are not uniformly distributed in society and neither are patrons uniformly selected from the population in general.

The working model presented above serves to organize the more general questions addressed by surveys. It was noted that the working model focused exclusively on one class of drinking contexts: taverns and bars. Are these settings related to other drinking contexts? Do tavern patrons drink exclusively in these settings? Does tavern drinking reflect drinking in multisettings? Regarding individual differences, are heavier drinkers overrepresented in taverns? What proportion of the general population goes to taverns and with what frequency? Do taverns draw upon a demographically defined subpopulation?

Environmental Factors

Ecological Distributions of Outlets

Before assessing what proportions of the general population make use of bars, one should assess the availability of such settings for drinking. An ecological approach is useful for examining the spatial patterns of outlets and provides a basis for assessing the extent to which they are ubiquitous features in the overall community structure.

Pfautz and Hyde (1960) have reported the distribution of the number and types of licensed outlets in a New England city and have examined their ecological relationship to other community institutions. The majority of these

outlets in 1958 were licensed for on-premise consumption. Among the on-premise outlets, the "tavern-bar-cocktail lounge" (non-eating places) predominated (36%), followed by "restaurant-bar" (24%) and "private clubs" (7%).

The spatial distribution of all outlets included a heavy concentration in the downtown area of the city, including the business district. Despite a concentration of restaurant-bars in this area, the other types of licensed sources were dispersed throughout the city. A second characteristic of the distribution pattern was the tendency to follow the major traffic arteries on all sides of the city. The only exception was a section of upper- and upper-middle-class residential areas, where there was an absence of on-premise outlets.

The study also indicated similarities among the spatial distribution of outlets, population, schools, and churches. On-premise outlets such as bars and taverns departed somewhat from this ubiquitous pattern. The distribution of restaurant-bars was least similar to the distribution of other social institutions studied. An inverse relationship between socioeconomic status and the ratio of alcohol outlets to population was reported and is suggestive of differences in the physical availability of alcohol among these population groups. The distance between residences and outlets is less (high physical availability) for all but the upper-class population of the city.

Cavan (1966) noted that approximately one third of the total number of public drinking places in San Francisco was located in two general areas of the city: the night-life section and the central-business and skid-row area. Generally, the ecological distribution was associated with the distribution of potential patrons. The majority of drinking places (70%) were located in census tracts that contained 52 percent of the single-male resident population. In this area, there was one drinking place for every 308 residents 21 years of age and over, whereas in areas that contain only 18 percent of the single-male population, there was only one public drinking place for every 1,952 residents of legal drinking age (Cavan, 1966:24-30).

Similar ecological distributions have been reported by Wittman (1980) for Berkeley, California, and by Dawkins et al. (1979) in Washington, D.C. Dawkins et al. (1979) examined the spatial pattern of outlets in the Washington, D.C. area in predominantly black (60% black) census tracts. Outlets were classified as follows: (A) package stores licensed for the sale of beer, wine, and liquor for off-premise consumption; (B) grocery stores for the sale of beer and wine for off-premise consumption; (C) restaurants-bars-taverns licensed for consumption of beer, wine and liquor; (D) restaurants licensed for consumption of beer and wine; (E) private clubs. Off-premise outlets (A and B) represented 26 percent and 20 percent, respectively, of the total number of outlets and were widely distributed throughout the predominantly black census tracts. While off-premise outlets tended toward dispersion rather than concentration, the Class C and D outlets (48% of total) were concentrated near business and entertainment areas. There was a positive correlation between the number of off-premise outlets and the percent of black population (the number of outlets increased as the proportions of black census tracts increased). On-premise outlets, on the other hand, correlated negatively with the percent of black population.

More recently, Richman and Jonas (1982) examined the distributions of these five types of outlets in the total D.C. area. They noted that 74 percent of

the on-premise outlets were located in the central business district and were concentrated along major traffic arteries of the city. The proportion of white census tracts paralleled the distribution of on-premise outlets while the opposite pattern was found for the proportion of black census tracts. Comparing the distribution of outlets to that of churches, recreation areas and schools, only the distributions of off-premise outlets (A and B) were parallel to that of churches.

Overall, the pattern of distribution of both on-premise and off-premise outlets was similar in each of the studies reviewed and serves to indicate the extent to which alcohol outlets permeate the physical structure of a large urban community. These studies of the availability of alcohol provide an important framework for assessing the use of bars by the general population.

Individual Factors

Psychosocial Correlates of Public Drinking

The General Social Survey is part of a national data collection program for the social sciences conducted on an annual basis since 1972 (Davis et al., 1978). Information on tavern use was included in several of these surveys (1974, 1975, 1977, 1978). Fisher (1981) notes that comparisons of tavern patronage by year of survey are generally stable with respect to frequency of tavern patronage, with slightly higher proportions of patrons in the more recent survey years--1977 and 1978 (50% versus 47%).

Fisher (1981) examined the psychosocial correlates of tavern use based on the 1977 General Social Survey (Davis et al., 1978) of 1,525 U.S. adults aged 18 years and older. Approximately half of the respondents (762) indicated that they went to a tavern at least once a year; therefore, the tavern appears to be a potential social and drinking outlet for half of the adult population in the U.S. Approximately 12 percent were weekly users, 18 percent were monthly users, and 20 percent visited a tavern once or several times a year.

Fisher (1981) examined several classes of correlates of tavern use: family background, sociodemography, religion, work status, and general outlook. Several variables significantly discriminated between patrons and nonpatrons. Tavern patrons were more likely to be drinkers, younger, male, white, of higher educational status, and unemployed. Religious involvement and affiliation were also significant predictors. Patrons were less likely to express strong religious beliefs or to be members of church groups. Satisfaction with health was related to going to a tavern as well as dissatisfaction with the family, job-related factors (e.g., hours worked, job prestige) or unemployment. Though significant in distinguishing patrons, these predictors were not related to frequency.

Several variables significantly predicted the frequency of tavern use. Being a drinker, younger, and a male was associated with more frequent use of taverns. Married patrons went to taverns less frequently than those who were not married. Compared to variables predicting patronage, race, education, and unemployment did not significantly predict the frequency of bar patronage. The impact of religion was differential as well. Religious involvement and affiliation were not significant predictors of tavern frequency. Rather, the strength of religious beliefs varied inversely with tavern patronage.

A survey of adults in the San Francisco area in 1962 (Clark, 1966) provides more detailed information on tavern patronage than is otherwise the case in most surveys. Clark noted that sex, age, and marital status were strongly related to the frequency of tavern patronage (58% of unmarried men, under age 30, went to taverns at least once a week or more). The next most frequent group was single women. In addition to these demographic characteristics, Clark also reported that income and educational status was positively related to the frequency of tavern patronage but they were not equally distributed in the population; and while socioeconomic status was positively but weakly related to tavern patronage, these indices indicated that tavern patronage was not limited to one stratum of the population.

While age has been shown to be negatively related to the frequency of tavern use among adults in several studies (Clark, 1966, 1981; Fisher, 1981), Harford (1979) suggests that the overall pattern, when the nonadult population is included, is curvilinear. Among teenagers, the trend with increasing age is away from home settings and toward an increased diversity of drinking contexts including public settings. These trends are reversed with increasing age among adults. A number of studies confirm these trends in other countries.

In their survey of drinking habits of boys in four Scandinavian cities, Bruun and Hauge (1963) noted that boys drank predominantly in their own home and that of another. The importance of the home as a setting diminished with increasing age. Among 16-year-old boys, the percentage of occasions in such public settings as restaurants and cafes ranges between 13 and 21 percent and for 18-year olds between 12 and 34 percent.

Davies and Stacey (1972) noted similar patterns in the shift of drinking locations among Scottish students aged 14 to 17 years. With increasing age, there is a marked increase in drinking in public houses or hotel bars among boys.

A study in rural Finland provides an additional perspective on drinking locations (Kussi, 1957). Among boys, there was a decrease in own home drinking and an increase in drinking in other homes with increasing age (15-17, 24% own and 39% other, versus 18-19, 6% own and 46% other). The most popular setting outside of the home was the restaurant licensed to serve alcohol (16% in both age groups).

Clark (1966) noted that the amount of drinking in general was positively related to tavern patronage. Heavier drinkers were more likely to use the tavern on a more frequent basis than lighter drinkers. However, amount of drinking was not a variable that adequately explained tavern patronage. Forty-six percent of the drinkers were not tavern patrons while 7 percent of the abstainers were. In a U.S. survey of men aged 21 to 59, Clark (1977) also demonstrated that the amount of overall drinking and frequency of tavern patronage were strongly related, as was that of the frequency of getting slightly intoxicated. In this survey, which focused on drinking problems among men in 1969, Clark also reported that drinking problems (trouble with spouse, employer, etc.) and indices of binge or very heavy drinking were also related to the frequency of tavern patronage.

Public Drinking in Relation to Other Drinking Contexts

Knupfer (1963) has reported occasions for heavier than usual drinking related to parties and celebrations as well as bars. The San Francisco Survey (1962) supports and extends this finding since it included information on the frequency of going to bars as well as parties.

Based on the 1969 male survey, Clark (1977) reported that substantially larger proportions of respondents drank at home rather than in the homes of friends, restaurants or bars. This finding was also reported by Harford (1975) for Metropolitan Boston. Own home was clearly the preferred location for drinking while bars accounted for only 20 percent of total drinking settings. Comparisons for amount of drinking, however, indicated that typical consumption was higher in public versus private settings among respondents who drink in both settings.

Dight (1976) provides an important cross-cultural perspective on drinking contexts in a sample of Scottish adult men and women. In contrast to other countries, Scottish drinkers reported more frequent use of pubs and bars. Among male current (regular) drinkers, the pub was the most popular setting (38% of all occasions in past week) followed by own home (17%), hotel (18%) and club (17%). When hotels, clubs and pubs are aggregated, the proportion of public drinking contexts was 73 percent for men and 44 percent of women. The pub was also associated with more frequent, heavier drinking than other settings while home was associated with more frequent, lighter levels of consumption. Among women, the home was the most popular setting (35%), whereas pubs were 13 percent.

Simpura (1981), drawing upon a 1976 Finnish survey, reported some interesting contrasts in public drinking between Finnish and Scottish drinkers. While the majority of drinking occasions in Scotland took place in pubs, clubs and hotels, public drinking in Finnish restaurants averaged about 24 percent of weekly drinking occasions (23% for men and 24% for women). Drinking at home was the more preferred setting for Finnish men (51%) and women (52%).

More detailed information was included in the 1979 survey of U.S. adults. This survey included a series of questions about the frequency with which respondents went to a variety of settings in which drinking takes place. Clark's (1981) analysis included the proportion of drinkers who attend or visit these settings, the proportion who sometimes drink there, and the proportion who report that they also drink there.

With respect to bar patronage, 54 percent of the men and 43 percent of the women drinkers sometimes went to bars, taverns or cocktail lounges. The majority of these patrons drank there at least sometimes (96% men and women). Among men, 76 percent always drink compared to 69 percent women.

A related item asked if they stopped at bars on the way home from work. Twenty-four percent of men and 11 percent of women did so. The majority of these (99%) drank there, and 74 percent men and 55 percent women always drank on these occasions.

With regard to a related drinking setting, high proportions of both sexes sometimes went to restaurants for evening meals (86% men and 92% women) and

sizeable proportions had a drink there sometimes (73% men and 72% women), though only a quarter of them drank on all of these occasions.

Clark also noted from the 1979 survey that party-goers were more numerous than tavern patrons. Of interest is the finding that a large proportion of both sexes who reported ever going to parties, sometimes drank at parties (93% and 83%, respectively). Comparisons between the proportions who sometimes drank at these settings suggest variations in perceived appropriateness of drinking for some settings versus others and are suggestive of normative influences.

Clark's analysis also included estimates of the typical number of drinks taken in the setting. As may be expected, bars and parties are the places where, among those who ever drink there, the largest typical amounts are drunk. Weighting each respondent's frequency of attendance and the proportions of respondent drinking provided an estimate of the actual amounts drunk in each setting per month. While bars and parties were sites of relatively heavy drinking in comparison to other settings, parties were relatively infrequent compared to bars. Thus, bars emerged in this analysis as sites of relatively heavier drinking during a monthly time frame.

Similar types of information are available from surveys of two communities in the Mid-Atlantic regions (Lubelin and Hornik, 1980). Both communities were similar and relatively homogeneous with respect to demographic characteristics and reflect a middle to upper-middle socioeconomic status. In view of the positive, though weak, correlations between tavern patronage and socioeconomic status, slightly higher social activity levels may be anticipated.

A stratified sample of 750 households was selected in each community. Both communities are similar, largely middle class. One community had an approximate population of 20,000 and is located at the suburban edge of a Mid-Atlantic city. The second community had an approximate population of 60,000 and is located in a rural county but within commuting distance of two Mid-Atlantic metropolitan areas. The survey was conducted during the spring and early summer of 1979.

An examination of the demographic characteristics of the two communities did not reveal substantive or significant differences in the population composition of the two communities. Overall, the population is homogeneous and middle class. Relevant distributions included the following: 78 percent had 2-3 years of college or more (52% college graduates); 70 percent held professional and business managerial occupations; 79 percent were employed (among the unemployed, 83% were women, 69% married and 14% separated); household incomes were $20-34,000 (30%); and $35,000 and over (35%). Fifty-nine percent were female (64% married, 15% never married, and 21% separated or divorced). Thirty percent were 30 years and under, 60 percent were 31 to 54 years, and 10 percent were 55 years and over. Eight percent reported no use of alcohol; 92 percent were drinkers.

An analysis of the frequency of bar patronage and selected demographic characteristics confirmed the findings of earlier studies. Sex, age, and marital status were significantly related ($p < .001$) to bar frequency and revealed that men rather than women, younger rather than older, and nonmarried (single,

separated and divorced) rather than married, were more frequent patrons at bars. Age and marital status, however, interacted significantly to reveal that while younger, unmarried respondents were frequent patrons so were older unmarried respondents. With respect to other drinking contexts, men and women did not differ with respect to the frequency of restaurant activity or party occasions. Age of respondent did not differentiate these social activities (though younger respondents were more likely to go to parties). An age by marital status interaction indicated that older nonmarried respondents were also frequent in party contexts.

In order to illustrate the influence on bar patronage and drinking of variations in social status, the following groups were identified: employed men who were 1) single, 2) married or 3) separated/divorced; employed women who were 4) single, 5) married or 6) separated/divorced; and unemployed married women. Statistical analyses, adjusting for age, indicated that the seven groups differed significantly with respect to these four types of social activity. Table 1 presents the percentages of drinking in these four settings. There are several interesting points to be made from this table. Bar patronage conforms to what we would expect. It is highest among single and separated men. The next most frequent group is single and separated women, who are slightly higher than married men. Married women, both working and nonworking, are lowest but even the status of working elevates the frequency for married women (46%) compared to nonworking women (32%). Despite the variations in frequency of attendance at each of the four settings, over 90 percent drank at least some of the time in these settings (nonworking married women representing the exception--85%). Bars are the wettest settings and restaurants the driest. The distributions by groups generally conform to expectations. However, nonworking married women, even when in wet drinking settings, are less likely to drink compared to others. Thus, while settings exert powerful influences on the level of consumption, subgroups of drinkers appear less influenced and maintain a certain consistency in light drinking across settings.

An examination of the amounts consumed in these various settings yields variation by demographic groups. Among men, party contexts yield higher proportions of respondents who have five or more drinks per occasion relative to public settings of restaurants and bars. Heavier consumption is highest among separated, working men. In view of the fact that party frequency, particularly going to parties, is comparable to that of the bar patronage, parties emerge as relatively high drinking contexts among these men.

There is less differentiation in amount of drinking among working women for both bar and party contexts. Drinking at own parties tends to be relatively higher for single and separated working women. Nonworking married women report the lowest proportions of heavier drinking in these contexts, despite the fact that the proportions attending parties are as high as the other groups.

One final comparison of interest among all seven groups is the comparison between restaurants and going to parties. Both of these occasions are high in proportions attending these settings but restaurants are occasions of lighter drinking. These respondents report varying amounts of alcohol consumed with respect to variations in settings.

TABLE 1

CONTEXT FREQUENCY AND ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION BY DEMOGRAPHY, IN PERCENT

	Working Men			Women: Working			Nonworking
	Single	Married	Separated	Single	Married	Separated	Married
	(69)	(260)	(53)	(57)	(218)	(121)	(146)
Restaurants							
Ever go	99	99	94	95	98	94	95
Ever drink	86	85	92	90	80	86	81
Always drink	29	38	42	37	34	37	27
3-4 drinks	3.5	6	4	2	2	2	2
5+ drinks	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
Bars							
Ever go	81	58	87	61	46	64	32
Ever drink	98	94	96	97	90	98	85
Always drink	84	78	80	79	63	81	52
3-4 drinks	51	29	36	28	22	20	13
5+ drinks	5	2	14	9	3	3	0
Parties at Home							
Ever have	61	88	47	74	81	63	86
Ever drink	90	90	100	92	85	87	83
Always drink	62	71	84	54	59	62	46
3-4 drinks	46	41	48	30	22	24	17
5+ drinks	13	10	28	11	4	11	2
Parties Away from Home							
Ever go	91	96	87	98	91	91	91
Ever drink	94	90	93	92	89	91	87
Always drink	60	61	67	49	50	56	44
3-4 drinks	38	37	47	39	21	29	17
5+ drinks	12	5	23	2	3	3	1

Based on data from Lubelin and Hornik, 1980

Drawing upon the two community surveys reported above (Lubelin and Hornik, 1980), Harford (1983) examined the relationship between drinking norms and behaviour. Of relevance are the findings relating the appropriateness of drinking in bars and clubs and reported drinking in these settings. This study is useful for two reasons: 1) it corroborates the findings in Table 1 for generalized social contexts and 2) it expands the methodology of self-reports in population surveys.

Self-reports of drinking behaviour may be structured to yield several different types of information in terms of the association between context and levels of consumption. First, they may reflect the respondents' attitudes with respect to the appropriateness of drinking in different contexts ("How appropriate is it to drink in a bar or tavern?"). Second, they may assess perceived relationships in the drinking context ("Do you generally consume more alcohol when you are in a bar or tavern compared to other settings?"). And, third, self-reports may yield information about the observed circumstances of drinking ("Where did you drink on your last, most recent, drinking occasion?"). By obtaining information on the latter, the observed circumstances of drinking, relationships between contexts and the amount of drinking may be ascertained without directly querying the respondent about the perceived existence/ nonexistence of such a relationship. This technique maximizes the role of the respondent as an informant, or ethnographer, of one's own environment.

Measures of the appropriateness of drinking were obtained from a set of 100 hypothetical situations which systematically varied several dimensions of drinking contexts. Respondents were asked to indicate on a 7-point scale (-3 through +3) the degree of appropriateness of some drinking. Information was also obtained on drinking behaviour on an event-by-event basis for the consecutive 7-day period preceding the interview. For each drinking event, the respondents provided details on the context elements included in the "hypothetical" stories. From this listing, it is possible to construct a linkage between context elements (in the present case, the drinking location) and reported consumption levels at each drinking event. This procedure thus by-passes the more direct inquiry of reports on the relationship between amount of drinking and bar contexts in Table 1. While the mean score for the appropriateness of "some" drinking was positive (+0.82), it falls short of the high end of the scale (+3.0). This is to be contrasted with the proportions of respondents who indicated that they ever have a drink when in a bar (Table 1 ranges between 85% to 98%). When compared to the mean rating of appropriateness of "some" drinking in restaurants (+0.54) a relationship consistent with Table 1 is found (ranged between 81% to 92%). In relative terms, the two procedures yield comparable results. Examination of the proportion of restaurant and bar events from the last 7-day period indicated that 16 percent of the events occurred in restaurants and 8 percent in bars. Comparisons of the mean amount of ethanol (in centiliters) revealed higher levels of alcohol in bars (4.50) compared to restaurants (3.03). These relationships are also consistent with those reported in Table 1 for the more generalized contexts.

Types of Public Drinking Settings

A major shortcoming of population surveys is that taverns and bars are treated as one general category. The interest in developing typologies is reflected in several studies.

Macrory (1952), in a community survey of public drinking extablishments in Dan County, Wisconsin, classified establishments into the following categories: skid row taverns, downtown bars, drink and dine taverns, nightclubs, and neighborhood bars. Macrory's study is important in that he noted that the social composition of patrons varied by type of establishment. Both blue-collar and white-collar workers were present in downtown bars, whereas skid row taverns recruited transient and homeless men. Women were more prevalent in drink and dine taverns than in downtown bars and formed equal proportions with men in nightclubs.

Gottleib (1957) focused his study in Chicago on 46 cocktail lounges and taverns and distinguished them primarily on the basis of social class differences. The lounge was typically located in a commercial area, with booths, television and occasional professional performers. It was open for business in the early afternoon and catered to afternoon and early evening clientele. The patrons of the lounge were primarily middle and upper class. Taverns, on the other hand, were located in residential sections with bars and tables, television, jukebox and games. The majority of taverns opened in the early morning and catered to local residents who were usually working class. Gottleib found that 83 percent of the respondents resided within two blocks of the neighborhood tavern in which they were interviewed.

Richards (1964), for example, classified 170 drinking establishments into four major types. The typology included "dives," nightclubs, lounges and taverns. The differentiating criteria included such variables as cost of food, entertainment, furnishings, clothing, staff and reputation.

Cavan (1966) has combined a typology with a detailed ethnographic description of 100 bars in San Francisco. Cavan argues that ecological location and characteristics of bar patrons may not be the most important variables for differentiating the uses of public drinking places. Instead she has developed a typology based on the uses to which bar settings are put. These include the convenience bar, the nightspot, the marketplace bar, and the home territory bar. The convenience bar, "... has the feature of a minor course of action which may be momentary or prolonged, unplanned or routine, but which is nevertheless little more than an adjunct to the daily round of activity." (1966:145). These bars are used when the drinker is marking the end of the day, a show or a game, celebrating special occasions or unwinding after an intense interaction. The nightspot has a diversion which has the character of a production, "A programmed course of activity that is in some general fashion, scripted, rehearsed and presented to the patrons." (1966:155-156). The marketplace bar acts as an area for the exchange of goods and services such as sex, gambling or drugs usually without the active involvement of the management. Finally, the home territory bar is similar to the neighborhood taverns described by previous researchers and is characterized by a core of regulars or habitues who treat the bar as though it "belonged" to them, or as though it were no longer within the domain of public drinking places.

Types of Public Settings and Types of Patrons

The studies reviewed thus far have served to distinguish the characteristics of both types of settings and types of patrons. An important agenda for subsequent research using survey methods is the nexus between type of patron and type of drinking establishment. Some work in this area has already been undertaken.

Storm and Cutler (1981) complemented their observational study of patrons in beer parlors and cocktail lounges with interviews of patrons from these establishments. This concurrent study enabled them to obtain information on the patron characteristics and typical drinking habits not available from direct observation. Patrons were contacted as they left the drinking establishment and self-selected subsamples were interviewed by telephone one week later.

Results of the observational study indicated that the beer parlor patrons were predominantly men while cocktail patrons were as likely to be men as women. In both settings, the population on weekend nights was young. These observations are consistent with other survey findings reviewed in this report. The interview study thus afforded an opportunity to examine whether there were differences in the populations drawn to the two types of establishments.

About half of the beer parlor respondents considered themselves to be regulars at some beer parlor while only a quarter of the lounge patrons claimed to be regulars at some lounge. All respondents, except women contacted at lounges, reported more frequent attendance at beer parlors than lounges. Men reported more frequent attendance at beer parlors than women. In addition, men contacted at beer parlors had somewhat higher proportions of heavier drinkers than lounge patrons. Women lounge patrons reported much lighter drinking per occasion than did women beer parlor patrons.

Storm and Cutler conclude that there are no clear-cut answers to the question whether beer parlor and lounge patrons represent distinct populations or whether they represent the same population attending both types of settings on distinct occasions. On any particular occasion, persons found in a lounge will include a larger representation of those who more frequently patronize the lounge. Similarly for beer patrons. The two types of settings tend to be used for different purposes and to be used for these purposes by most people in the population of patrons.

Drawing upon observational ratings of the physical characteristics of public drinking settings, Richman and Jonas (1982) developed a typology of drinking places and related the typology to patron characteristics. A sample plan was developed for selecting on-premise (Class C and D license) drinking establishments. The total population of these outlets were stratified by license, geographic quadrant in D.C, setting capacity (74, 75-145, 146), and nine zoning districts. The majority of these outlets (80% of Class C and 88% of Class D) were concentrated in the Northeast quadrant of D.C. that contains the business and entertainment districts. This is consistent with the ecological studies of outlets reviewed earlier.

For the purposes of the observational study, on-premise outlets were restricted to Class C (liquor, wine and beer) establishments in the Northwest quadrant and located in three zoning districts (community business, major business, central business). Five outlets were sampled from each of the three seating capacity categories within each of the three zones. The result was a stratified random sample of 45 establishments, five from from each stratum.

Eight repeated observations were conducted at each outlet by a research team. Observations were conducted for 45 minutes for each of four time periods (11-2 p.m., 4-7 p.m., 7-10 p.m., 10 p.m.-closing) on weekdays and weekends for a total of eight observations per site. Observation teams recorded the following information: number of patrons entering and leaving, sex, age (<25, 25-35, >35), race/ethnicity (black, white, other), and group size. Since not all of the establishments were open during the times selected, only 307 of the planned 360 observations were made. Of the 307, 299 yielded reliable data.

Of the total number of patrons observed, 70 percent were men, 85 percent white, and 64 percent under 36 years of age. In view of the high proportion of blacks in the D.C. area (70%), the low number of black patrons observed during these time periods is consistent with studies of the ecological distribution of outlets and correlates with population characteristics (Richman and Jonas, 1982). A breakdown of group composition by sex, race, and age of patrons entering the bars revealed that 30 percent were unaccompanied males, 22 percent were heterosexual couples, and 22 percent were male groups. Only 5 percent were unaccompanied females and 8 percent female groups.

Based on an internal observation of each of the 45 settings, a bar typology was devised from a factor analysis of 29 variables. The variables reflected such characteristics as decor, lighting, space availability, table size and location, seating type, number of bar stools, presence of entertainment, characteristics of bar staff, and proximity of bar to other establishments. Utilizing a five-factor solution to a factor analysis that included 29 independent variables, the following factors were identified:

(1) Factor 1: Hotel/Motel/Cocktail Lounge -- Large bars with fixed tables that serve predominantly mixed drinks. These bars tend to have a pianist, are relatively quiet, and tend not to be near other bars.

(2) Factor 2: Strip Bar -- Bars with dancers/strippers. These tend to have female waitresses and female bartenders, limited availability of food, and few if any male waiters.

(3) Factor 3: Disco/Singles/College Bar -- Large bars with many bar stools, male bartenders, and disc jockeys. These bars are not neighborhood bars.

(4) Factor 4: Gay Bar -- These bars are situated near office buildings and serve predominantly mixed drinks. They are not neighborhood bars and do not have jukeboxes.

(5) Factor 5: Ethnic Restaurant/American Saloon -- These tend to have extensive food menus and rely on male waiters. Typically they do not advertise happy hours, and they do not have games or live bands.

Factor scores were calculated from the factor score coefficients of each of the variables loading on each factor, then the five factors so created were correlated with the various dependent variables, and these results follow:

Factor 1 (Hotel/Motel/Cocktail Lounge) correlated with the more formally dressed, older bar patron, as well as transients (who could be business people in town briefly for a meeting) and groups over 35 years of age. Regulars were not attracted to this type of bar.

Factor 2 (Strip Bar) correlated with males, non-whites (both unaccompanied and in groups), and unaccompanied patrons over the age of 35.

Factor 3 (Disco/Singles/College Bar) correlated with white patrons and white groups and seemed to attract the largest total number of patrons overall. Patrons tended to be young, often groups under 36 years of age, and frequently they were heterosexual couples. Bar hoppers tended to prefer this type of bar.

Factor 4 (Gay Bar) correlated with unaccompanied males, mostly white and under 36 years of age, though mixed race groups also correlated with this factor. Patrons tended to be formally dressed.

Factor 5 (Ethnic Restaurant/American Saloon) correlated only with tourists at the .01 level of signifiance.

The factor analysis was successful in identifying specific bar typologies, and specific groups of patrons could be identified that seemed to prefer each type.

As expected, the Hotel/Motel/Cocktail Lounge was frequented by the type of patron who would travel on business -- formally dressed, older, and transient. Strip Bars, as pointed out in the bivariate correlations, were frequented by older males, particularly non-white. Disco/Single/College Bars were the most popular and were frequented by young couples who often bar hopped through the evening. For Washington, D.C., at least, patrons in Gay Bars were predominantly formally dressed, young, white males, though this was one of few bar types that also was frequented by non-whites. Finally, the Ethnic Restaurants/American Saloons were preferred by tourists who seemed to do most of their drinking with meals.

Summary

An ecological analysis of the distribution of public drinking settings reveals that such settings are not uniformly distributed in the community. Nor are patrons uniformly selected from the general population. Being a drinker, a male, and younger is associated with more frequent use of public settings. Further variations in patron characteristics are observed when types of public settings are differentiated. Both of these sources of variation, persons and settings, would seem to be implicated in the diversity of drinking behaviours reported by ethnographers in different settings.

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THE UTILITY OF TIME-BUDGET ANALYSIS FOR RESEARCH ON PUBLIC DRINKING[1]

Ronald L. Cosper*

Most research conducted so far on the use of taverns has made use of observational, respondent survey, or macro-historical data. These techniques have various strengths and weaknesses that to some extent complement one another. However, it can be argued that time-budget data have the potential to fill an important gap in our knowledge of public drinking.

Time-budget research, to paraphrase Converse (1968), can be defined as the technique which involves the collection of diaries from a sample of people in order to generalize about their use of time. These diaries are logs kept by individuals of the sequence and duration of all their activities during a period of time, typically 24 hours. Modern time-budget studies have also usually recorded ancillary information on events, such as location, companions, and other activities engaged in simultaneously. Data on respondent characteristics are also collected, thus yielding a hierarchically structured data set in which a file of events and their characteristics is kept, along with a file of respondents and their characteristics. The respondent file generally also contains aggregative data on events, and the event file analogously includes contextual information on respondents and times. Sampling in time-budget studies is complex, because care must be taken to draw a representative sample of time (hours, days, seasons) as well as the more familiar representative sample of respondents. Sometimes the scope of the study is restricted by limiting sampling to population segments, seasons, or certain activities. The diaries included in the methodology of some drinking studies thus can be considered a limited type of time-budget, although the focus of some of these exclusively on drinking limits their utility in studying the larger social context of drinking.

Time-budget methods can be applied to research on public drinking in several ways. First, this sort of data can validate conclusions reached by other techniques. Considerable doubt has been cast, for example, on the completeness of the measurement of amount of drinking by survey techniques (e.g., Pernanen,

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* Associate Professor of Sociology, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

1974) and time-budget data can be used to compute comparable statistics on frequency of drinking. Initial results are encouraging when time-budget data are compared to surveys on the question of frequency of drinking or frequency of pub use. As long as adequate locational information is available in the data, the frequency of tavern going can be similarly validated. Certain aspects of observational research on drinking can also be validated, such as duration, companions, other activities engaged in, times of tavern use, and numbers and composition of clientele. Finally, the conclusions of time-budget research are useful for macro-historical research, in that detailed quantitative information becomes available for one point in time and space on drinking or tavern use, to which other sorts of information on other times can be compared. The multinational time use study (Szalai et al., 1972) conducted in cities in Eastern and Western Europe, as well as the Americas also provides a data base in which pub going can be studied in a variety of social contexts.

Time-budget data, however, are useful in their own right and can provide a unique perspective on tavern use unattainable by other approaches. It is ideally suited to studying the question of the use of time, and the time devoted to public drinking per episode, per respondent, per day, or for an entire city or nation can be easily obtained. It is also perhaps the best technique for investigating the social context of drinking, and the only way to get at the sequencing of activities or temporal context of drinking. However, time-budget data are weaker than survey-based estimates when individuals are being compared, because too much of the variance in the time-budget data is due to error in sampling time. Some data bases also permit the analysis of the location of activities, i.e., the distance between home and taverns, or work and taverns, in the sample. The journey to and from the tavern can also be investigated as to duration, type of conveyance, relation to time of day, preceding location, and so on. Of course, the temporal context of public drinking is readily studied, including the time of onset or completion of the activity, the day of the week, and in some data bases, the season of the year.

In this paper the designs of three major time-budget studies will be described and the methods of measuring public drinking outlined. Findings and limitations of these studies will be presented, particularly as they are relevant to observational research on taverns. The three data bases are the original Multinational Time-Budget Studies coordinated by Alexander Szalai in the 1960s, the Halifax Time-Budget Study of 1971, and the Canadian Pilot Time-Budget Study of 1981. The first set of studies is especially useful for providing an international and comparative perspective on public drinking, and is a very good base of comparison for the subsequent Halifax study. The 1981 Canadian study is of particular interest because its design was more oriented to alcohol use than previous time-budget efforts, and it has the potential of opening a contemporary window of national scope on public drinking.

The Multinational Time-Budget Studies

In 1965 and 1966 a set of time-budget studies was conducted in twelve countries under the general direction of Alexander Szalai. The methodology is extensively presented in Szalai et al. (1972). Briefly, the objective was to study time use via the time-diary method among urban populations in various countries. Although some of the studies reported on below deviated from the

guidelines, it was agreed that the sample sites would be cities of from 40,000 to 200,000 inhabitants, that were independent of nearby large "Megalopolises" and would have a diversified basis for local employment. The samples were to consist of at least 2,000 persons between ages 18 and 65 from households in which at least one member was employed. All members of the sample were given a diary and asked to keep a record for a specified 24-hour period. Persons unable or declining to complete a diary were interviewed about the previous day's activities, and the interviewer constructed a comparable record for the 24-hour period. Background information was also collected on the respondents as well as on characteristics of the day studied. As for time sampling, days were spread evenly among the seven days of the week, and certain seasons were excluded from the study (Christmas, summer vacation periods, agricultural harvest times); surveys were generally conducted during a four to six week interval in spring or fall.

Primary and secondary activities were recorded by respondents, as well as the locations, times and other persons present for the activities. Subsequently, activities were classified into one of 99 coded categories covering work, leisure, sleep, domestic activities, travel, and so forth. One of the categories specified was "pubs and cafes".[2] Thus, we do not know whether respondents drank alcoholic beverages while in these establishments or even what beverages were served in them, although the author's work with the subsequent Canadian data would indicate that most of these events involved drinking in a pub. Some occasions of night club attendance were also recorded under the category designated "Mass Culture", but the primary purpose of most of these events seemed to be one of entertainment. In an effort to validate the time-budget measurement of activities, Scheuch (1972) reported on comparisons made between survey reports of usual frequencies of activity with the recorded diary incidence. For pub going, he found that in Osnabrueck 9.1 percent of respondents' diaries indicated they had frequented a pub or cafe, while calculations from the frequency questionnaire administered to the same respondents yielded a figure of 9.0 percent.

Table 1 shows results from all the sites studied in the multinational survey. Included are the percentages of participants on diary day, the mean number of minutes spent in taverns per respondent (using the entire sample as base), and the mean number of minutes in taverns per participant (using only those participating in the activity on diary day as base). The percentage of adults going to a pub in a typical day ranges from 0.6 percent in Peru and the USSR to 10.6 percent in Hungary. Pubs and cafes are used most in Germany and France, in addition to Hungary, and appear to be least used in poorer or more agricultural countries. Barring differences among countries in coding the data, the results obtained by Scheuch would lend some support to the reality of the differences obtained. The published tables also included the mean minutes spent by all respondents in taverns on their diary day. This latter figure is largely a function of the number of participants, and, in fact, the two statistics are highly correlated ($r = +.83$).

TABLE 1

VISITS TO PUBS AND CAFES, URBAN SITES IN TWELVE COUNTRIES, MULTINATIONAL TIME-BUDGET STUDIES[3]

Country	Percent Participating	Minutes per Respondent	Minutes per Participant
Belgium	6.6	5.7	86
Bulgaria	1.6	1.0	62
Czechoslovakia	5.2	4.8	92
France	8.6	4.1	48
Germany, Federal Republic			
National sample	8.1	10.7	132
Osnabrueck	8.9	7.5	84
Germany, Democratic Republic	5.5	4.9	89
Hungary	10.6	6.8	64
Peru	0.6	0.2	33
Poland	5.2	4.6	88
United States of America			
Forty-four cities	4.0	2.7	68
Jackson, Michigan	4.6	5.0	109
USSR	0.6	0.6	100
Yugoslavia			
Kragujevac	7.0	5.6	80
Maribor	5.3	3.3	62

Notes: Data are calculated from published tables on pp. 576-579 of Susan Ferge (editor), "Statistical Appendix" in Alexander Szalai _et al._ (editors), _The Use of Time. Daily Activities of Urban and Suburban Populations in Twelve Countries._ (The Hague: Mouton, 1972).

However, the variance in mean time in pubs and cafes for all respondents is also a function of how much time those actually participating in the activity spend in these places. Following Kinsley _et al._ (1982, Appendix C), the third data column in Table 1 presents a calculation of mean time spent in taverns by participants. These figures, which correlate significantly on a site-by-site basis with time per respondent (r = +.60), range from 33 minutes per visit in Peru (a somewhat unreliable figure due to the low incidence of participation) to 132 minutes per participant in the national sample in West Germany. Duration of pub visits in Jackson, USA, the USSR and Poland are also well above the international mean of 80 minutes, while France (48 minutes) as well as Bulgaria, one of the Yugoslavian cities, and Hungary are below the mean. The inclination of people to visit pubs and the time they spend there bear no statistically significant relationship to one another (r = +.16) on an international basis. From an international perspective, public drinking can take place in a variety of contexts, and some of the variation in Table 1 may reflect varying mixes of types of public drinking.

In an effort to discover factors influencing pub going among these countries, correlations were calculated between tavern use and various social characteristics of people, times, and sites, including sex and age distributions, percentage with professional, executive and upper white collar occupations, educational level, city size, whether the diary day was a normal work day and whether the weather was unusually bad. Although relationships are at best of borderline significance, the percentage of participants on a typical day is negatively correlated with the percent under age 30 ($r = -.46$) and with the percentage with only a primary education ($r = +.39$), an indicator which, however, is highly subject to local differences in school program organization. Minutes per user, however, is correlated with the diary being kept on other than a regular working day ($r = +.41$), and with the percentage of the population with high status jobs ($r = +.35$). Thus, it appears that use of taverns is predictable internationally by a more mature age structure and by a relatively uneducated population, whereas the time spent in taverns tends to be a function of a white collar labour force and the freedom from time constraints provided by holidays. It must be cautioned, however, that these generalizations must be regarded only as empirically grounded hypotheses that remain to be tested in a more rigorous way.

The 1971 Halifax Time-Budget Study

A study was designed in Halifax, Canada, to provide data comparable to those of the earlier multinational studies. The coding scheme was identical to that of the multinational surveys with the addition of a spatial grid which made it possible to locate activities to the nearest 100 metres. The methodology of data collection and coding is more fully described in Elliott, Harvey and Procos (1976). Subsequently Cosper and Elliott (1982) examined pub going more closely. The "pubs and cafes" category 77 from the multinational code yielded 80 respondents with instances of pub use out of 2,141 diaries, or 3.7 percent. Subsequently, all original diaries with these and related codes were examined in order to get as complete a picture as possible of tavern going; altogether, 118 of the respondents, or 5.5 percent, were found to have had at least one public drinking activity on diary day. ("Public drinking" included any event in which an important focus was alcohol consumption, whether it took place in a tavern, a lounge, a night club or a private club.)

The figure for Halifax of 5.5 percent is exactly identical to the international mean of 5.5 percent for percentage of users in a given day. In some respects, the definition and methodology used in Halifax were broader than those used in the previous studies, but in some respects they were narrower (i.e., alcohol must have been served). Respondents spent an average of 139 minutes in drinking establishments in Halifax, which makes Halifax the most leisurely drinking of all the cities compared. (This is also consistent with the hypothesis that the constraints of work cut down tavern time; Haligonians also had the shortest work days of any of the cities in the multinational sample (Harvey, 1978).) It was found that 20 percent of users recorded more than one instance of public drinking, one hardy respondent recording five such visits. The average duration of stays in public drinking places was 108 minutes.

In order to validate the diary reports of public drinking, Elliott and Cosper (1982) compared the time-budget results with those of a population survey of Halifax conducted three years later. The portion of time-budget sample resident

within the central city was compared with the frequency questionnaire results, and both instruments were standardized on the 1971 census in terms of distributions of age and sex. This comparison yielded results of 7.0 percent users according to the time-budget and 5.6 percent according to the questionnaire. Cosper and Shaw (1984) also compared frequency and diary data for other leisure activities in the 1971 Halifax study, and reported generally similar results for most of them.

Other findings from the 1971 Halifax study also illustrate the usefulness of the time-budget approach for investigating public drinking. The timing of public drinking can be studied easily. Cosper and Elliott reported large differences by day of the week and time of day. Fifty-four percent of pub episodes occurred on Fridays and Saturdays, and only 3 percent on Monday. Sixty-three percent of episodes began between 20:00 and 23:59, and another 16 percent from 18:00 to 19:59. A methodological problem was suggested by the finding that for 20 percent of episodes, the day was begun in a drinking establishment (i.e., at midnight); consequently, we do not know the full duration of these events.

TABLE 2

TYPE OF ACTIVITY PRECEDING AND FOLLOWING PUBLIC DRINKING, EXCLUDING TRAVEL AND FIRST AND LAST-EVENT DRINKING

Activity	Preceding %	Following %
Social	36	32
Eating	30	21
Personal Care	28	18
Entertainment	23	20
Drinking	20	21
Domestic Work	16	19
Work for Pay	11	1
Idle	7	2
Recreation	6	8
Meetings	4	2
Self-Cultivation	4	5
Smoking	2	5
Sleeping	2	33
Total*	189	187
(N)	(123)	(107)

* Percentages total more than 100, because some respondents listed more than one preceding or following activity simultaneously.

By making use of the event file or by adding certain information on activities to the individual-level file, the sequence of events in the day of an individual can be traced. It was found that the median time for the journey from the site of the respondent's last activity to the pub was 10 minutes, which was identical to the time to travel from the pub to the next location. Travel time on weekends was somewhat more than during the week. Sixty-seven percent of the time the respondent drove to the pub, and 57 percent of events involved leaving by car. Journeys were longer to clubs and of briefer duration to taverns; respondents were also more likely to go to and from taverns on foot.

Excluding travel, the events immediately preceding and following episodes of pub going are shown in Table 2. The distributions are, on the whole, relatively similar. The major exception is sleeping -- an "activity" which follows tavern going in 33 percent of cases, but only precedes it in 2 percent. Working for pay, personal care and eating are all more usual before going out drinking than afterwards. The locations of activities temporally adjacent to public drinking were also investigated. The respondent's own home was the most usual location, although he was more likely to be elsewhere before drinking than afterwards, especially at his workplace.

Attendance at a public drinking establishment was generally listed as the primary activity. Secondary activities also recorded as occurring at the same time were talking (59%), drinking (49%), dancing (39%), eating (9%), entertainment (9%), and smoking (9%), and a wide range of less frequently occurring events including such colourful pastimes as singing, fighting and "fooling around". An intercorrelation matrix constructed of secondary activities revealed that the two main clusters were: (1) talking, drinking, pub crawling, and smoking; and (2) dancing and entertainment. The first cluster was more characteritic of tavern and beverage room episodes, while the second was more commonly associated with clubs and lounges. When dancing was listed as a secondary activity, the activity occurred later than otherwise, and lasted longer.

Of course, many other types of findings can be obtained using time-budget methods. For example, participation rates can be calculated for various population segments, using background characteristics obtained at the same time, and these can be compared to the conclusions of observational or frequency recall research. Additional conclusions in relation to drinking derived from the 1971 Halifax time-budget study are outlined in Cosper and Elliott (1982).

The 1981 Canadian Time-Budget Study

The federal government of Canada in 1981 conducted a time- budget study, in which telephone interviews were conducted to obtain diaries from 2,682 randomly selected respondents from 14 rural and urban locations representing each province of the country. The methodology is more fully explicated in Kinsley <u>et al</u>. (1982). For our purposes it is of interest that the coding scheme was basically a three-digit expansion of the Multinational scheme. To permit more meaningful analysis of the use of alcohol, a code was added for "drinking beer, liquor, etc.", and the original code for bars and cafes was retained. The Canadian time-budget study is not only unique in being coded distinctly for drinking as an activity, but also in that the diary day started and ended at

4:00 a.m. (rather than midnight). This choice of starting and ending time was made in part to avoid missing portions of late night drinking episodes that would certainly be otherwise unavailable. The diary form employed permitted the recording of up to two primary and two secondary activities for any given time period for a particular respondent. Because drinking so often accompanies other activities, this enriched availability of other primary and secondary activities should facilitate greatly the study of tavern use and drinking in general.

Data analysis of the 1981 Canadian Pilot is only now beginning, but already useful information is emerging. The 1981 codes equivalent to the old Multinational category of "pubs and cafes" have been broken down into "bars, tearooms, etc."; "at bar/night club"; and "dancing". Assuming that the first and second of the above codes in the Canadian study are the equivalent of the valid public drinking codes in the Multinational study, the average participant spent 141.3 minutes in a public drinking establishment in these Canadian communities - a figure extremely close to the estimate of 139 for Halifax in 1971. Since the mean for the entire sample is 3.7 minutes, it would appear that approximately 2.6 percent of Canadians find themselves in a public drinking establishment -- only about half the percentage for Halifax in 1971. Additional research might uncover additional cases, for example, episodes coded as "dancing" or going to a bar as a secondary activity, so firm conclusions as to incidence must await further analysis. The figures reported above for the Multinational study, however, refer only to primary activities. These results can be validated by comparing them to the findings of Cosper, Neumann and Okraku (1982) in regard to the frequency reported by Canadians of attending public drinking establishments. When these self-reports are converted to a participation rate by calculating the probability of being in a tavern on a given day for the segments of the population according to frequency and summing the result, an estimate of 6.7 percent is obtained from the frequency report data -- a figure more in line with expectations generated by previous studies.

Incidentally, from self-reported frequency, it is also possible to calculate the percentage of bar patrons at any one time who attend with various frequencies. The Halifax study reported above would suggest that about 80 percent of patrons at any one time go to pubs as often as once a week. The national study of tavern use yields an estimate of 76 percent of patrons who are weekly participants. Clark's data for San Francisco also suggest that 80 percent of patrons are weekly attenders, and even Macrory's (1952) data yield a calculation of 79 percent. These frequency estimates thus confirm the reports of observers of tavern life (e.g., Richards, 1963) that most patrons are regulars and visit often, and reconcile the paradoxical facts that despite the observed ubiquity of "regulars" on the bar scene, most people do not go to pubs that often.

Alcohol use can also be investigated by means of the unique "liquor or beer" code used in the Canadian study which shows a duration of 59.2 minutes for participants and 5.4 minutes for the entire sample, thereby yielding a participation rate of aproximately 9.1 percent. However, drinking is very likely to be reported as a secondary or dual primary activity, and 15.4 percent list drinking as a secondary activity, at which participants spend 85 minutes a day in their diaries. The total incidence of public drinking or drinking in general can only be studied by combining all primary and secondary occurrences. It would also be interesting to cross-tabulate the drinking code with the bar and other codes, to gain additional insight into the social contexts of drinking.

When the codes for drinking as a primary and secondary activity are combined, 21.9 percent of Canadians engage in this activity in a day. It is interesting that calculations made from published Canada Health Survey data suggest that 23.9 percent of Canadians drink in a typical day. (Frequency data are converted to incidence estimates by summing the probabilities of drinking in a day for the number of the sample reporting various drinking frequencies.)

Drinking as a primary activity in the Canadian time-budget data shows considerable variation over the course of the day. Using a standard 15 minute grid and beginning at 4:00 a.m., there is no drinking at all as a primary activity until 9:00 a.m., and then only one male participant. There is a minor increase at 12:00 to 1:30, and a greater increase in the late afternoon which reaches a peak of 16 participants at 6:30 p.m. Drinking remains relatively prevalent until eleven or twelve at night, when it begins to progressively subside. It is possible that this cycle may change somewhat when secondary drinking is brought into the picture, because drinking at unusual times may be more likely considered a secondary activity (i.e., to lunch, work, social interaction). This basic cycle of drinking, however, is well-known and agrees with previous observations (of bar behaviour, for example).

The 1981 Canadian time-budget data have also been used to cross-tabulate incidence and duration of drinking by various social backgound characteristics. Participation in drinking (in a typical day) varies from a high of 43.9 percent for unmarried employed males age 25-44 to 2.0 percent for retired married females. It is interesting that the incidence of drinking climbs to 8.0 percent for retired unmarried (or widowed) females, and the duration of drinking is 101 minutes compared to only 30 minutes for married older women. Unemployed people spend far more time drinking than employed, of both sexes -- a finding consistent with our earlier findings on the impact of work on time for drinking.

Conclusions

Time-budget studies of drinking appear to hold much promise for understanding the patterns of alcohol use in public drinking establishments and elsewhere. The findings of the time-budget studies reviewed here can be seen as both confirmatory of results obtained by other methods and as suggestive of new perspectives on public drinking. The evidence suggests considerable consistency of findings in regard to the measurement of amount of drinking and tavern use, both among different time-budget studies and between time-budget, frequency-survey and observational methodologies. In the light of much of the literature questioning the validity of the questionnaire measurement of drinking, this is perhaps good news, for a change, but it is still necessary to explain the discrepancies between alcohol consumption as measured by sales data and by self-reported frequency and quantity of drinking. One hypothesis would be that for the bulk of the population, measurement of drinking is quite valid and reliable, and that under-reporting is confined to a small proportion of heavy drinkers, who nevertheless account for a high percentage of alcohol consumed. Another possibility is that people are likely to report on frequency of drinking and time spent drinking fairly accurately, and that under-reporting is confined to quantity. Considering that when people drink in non-public places the alcohol content of drinks is non-standardized, and that the size (i.e., 1 or 1 1/2 ounce shots) of drinks specified in most self-report surveys may be unrealistically

small, it is understandable that quantity can be under-reported. It is also possible, of course, that mis-representation or faulty recollection may lead to under-reporting of quantity. At any rate, it is probably necessary to re-evaluate the perhaps unduly pessimistic conclusions reached in recent years that self-reported data on drinking are of doubtful utility. The correspondence between sef-reported frequency and time-budget results can also be taken as a favourable indication for further use of the time-budget approach for research on drinking.

Time-budget research can also be used, as can frequency surveys, to confirm and provide a quantitative context for observational research on tavern use. An example of this sort of use would be the data on the expected composition of bar clientele at any one time in terms of regularity of attendance. This technique could be expanded to provide background data on many characteristics of bar patrons, including drinking patterns, activity schedules, socio-demographic characteristics, and so forth. This will help establish a population base or sampling frame for observational studies, thereby remedying one of the major faults of the observational technique.

Observational studies of tavern use have tended, in general, to have a view of drinking as essentially social -- an interpretation which stems from the observation of activities situated in taverns. This view has been in marked contrast to much "survey" research, which has tended to adopt an epidemiological or "deviance" perspective on drinking. The time-budget research reported on in this paper suggests perhaps a third alternative: namely, that drinking must be seen as part of the pattern of work and leisure that characterizes the rhythm of peoples' lives. Evidence is emerging that drinking alcohol functions importantly to mark leisure settings or perhaps more precisely non-work settings in our society. This generalization is consistent with much of the time-budget research reported on here, for example in relation to the diurnal and weekly timing of drinking, the sequencing of drinking in relation to work and leisure, international correlations between drinking, holidays and worktime, and differences in drinking time by labour force participation.

From a methodological point of view, the utility of time-budget data depends greatly on the coding schemes employed for the time-budget analyses. The original multinational studies lacked a code for drinking alcohol as a separate activity, but pub going was available as a code. Sometimes when codes are inadequate it is necessary to work from the original diaries, if they are still available. This procedure can be made less difficult by making use of the existing coding scheme to generate lists of diaries that probably contain public drinking and checking only these diaries. The 1981 Canadian pilot study has drinking (as well as smoking and sex) as activity codes and is therefore a very useful data source for this type of research. Subsequent studies could employ even more detailed codes for alcohol use, including types and amounts of beverages, and better information on the context of drinking. Probably the most useful type of research at the present time would be a time-budget study focussed on drinking with detailed codes on this topic, together with general information on other activities. A duration of 24 hours tends also to limit the utility of most time-budget studies for the investigation of alcohol use, and the possibility of conducting research of longer duration should be explored. Since drinking in taverns often extends over midnight into the next calendar day, ending the diary at midnight makes it difficult to study the duration of episodes of tavern use, although aggregate statistics are still accurate.

Notes

1. Acknowledgement is due Dr. Andrew Harvey, Saint Mary's University, and Dr. David Elliott, Dalhousie University, for making available previously unpublished data from the 1981 Canadian Pilot Time Use Study. Funding for some of the data analysis was provided by the Alcoholic Beverage Medical Research Foundation, Johns Hopkins University.

2. The relevant code category numbers for the Multinational data are: #77 "pubs and cafes"; and #71 "Mass culture". For the Canadian study, the categories are #770 "bars, tearooms, etc."; #771 "at bar/night club"; and #772 "dancing".

3. Sample sizes ranged from 778 in Jackson, USA, to 2,805 in France. Studies were conducted in 1965 and 1966. Sites in the twelve countries are identified as follows:

   Belgium -- Cluster sample of 425 communities;

   Bulgaria -- Kazanlik, an industrial town of 45,646;

   Czechoslovakia -- Olomouc, Moravian city of 75,332;

   France -- Six cities in the Northeast;

   Federal Republic of Germany, national sample -- random cross-section of 100 electoral districts throughout West Germany;

   Osnabrueck, Germany -- commercial and industrial city of 138,000 in Hanover;

   Hoyerswerda, German Democratic Republic -- urban area of 90,000 in Saxony;

   Hungary -- Gyor and environs, a cultural centre in the northwest of 72,000 people;

   Peru -- Callao, a 150,000 population seaport for Lima;

   Poland -- Torun, cultural and economic centre of 112,700 in northcentral region;

   United States of America, 44 cities -- representative of United States urban areas in which central city is at least 50,000;

   Jackson, USA -- commercial centre of 72,000 in southern Michigan;

   Union of Soviet Socialist Republics -- Pskov, an administrative and cultural centre of 115,000, southwest of Leningrad;

   Kragujevac, Yugoslavia -- an industrial city of 52,800 near Belgrade;

   Maribor, Yugoslavia -- an old industrial centre of 96,000 near Austrian border.

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO OBSERVATION STUDIES OF PUBLIC DRINKING

Anthony E. Thomas* and Joyce M. Kramer**

Totalism probably best distinguishes the anthropological approach from that of social psychology and sociology in the study of public drinking. In singling out totalism, we are referring to the anthropological tradition of investigating all parts and the whole of a community or culture. This is particularly characteristic of North American cultural anthropology, but a form of totalism is also found in British social anthropology, even though the British concern is more with social organization than with material culture. Contemporary studies by British and North American anthropologists are much more focussed than the classic ethnographies of the 1930s, e.g. Malinowski's Trobriand work and Evans-Pritchard's Nuer studies. Even though anthropology of the past two decades has become highly specialized, there remains a strong orientation and visible practice of getting a total view of the culture or community.

Participant observation is in no way unique to anthropology, but the public image of the profession is of a European, Japanese, or North American with a notebook sitting down to a meal or a drinking occasion with an African, Latin American, or other Third World community. The anthropologist is a stranger--a professional stranger--a social scientist from the industrial centers of the world who makes a living studying peoples at the margins of global industrial growth. To overcome this alien status so as to work effectively with safety and rapport, the anthropologist invariably becomes a participator, including the sharing of exotic food and drink. He or she participates in many of the activities which are scientifically observed; but this participation is more than the social science technique participant observation or observing participation. This participation among marginal peoples (Third World nations and Third World communities in industrial capitalist and communist countries) is a basic overall strategy, not a particular technique. Consequently, the anthropologist among exotic peoples does get a very complete and rich set of data and for most anthropologists considerable enjoyment and satisfaction from this kind of research interface.

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* Research Associate (Medical Anthropology), Health Services Research Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

** Associate Professor (Sociology), College of Education and School of Medicine, University of Minnesota, Duluth.

The three studies chosen for special attention in this article are Mass Observation's study of an English industrial city, The Pub and the People; Wolcott's eastern African urban study, The African Beer Gardens of Bulawayo; and Ivan Karp's study of rural Kenyan beer drinking in African Systems of Thought. Each of these studies exhibits a high level of scholarship; moreover, these studies have made significant contributions to our understanding of comparative patterns of drinking and to the social science literature on factionalism, stratification, and ethnic struggle.

Two questions at the outset are: 1) Why were these studies undertaken?; and 2) What methodologies were used to study drinking behaviour among urban populations in England and Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia at the time of the study) and a rural population of Kenya (the Teso)?

The motivation for doing these studies is of interest because of a) the quite different rationale for each study and b) the effect that the motivation for each study has had on the overall methodology utilized. Moreover, one of the major criticisms of alcohol research is that this area of investigation is of low priority in advancing social science. Recreation compared with work life and politics has generally been given less attention in the social sciences. In the presence of this criticism, researchers planning studies of public drinking have usually needed to either a) place their public drinking research as a sub-category of wider research (e.g. Ivan Karp's study of Kenyan Teso social organizations) or b) develop an applied rationale for their public drinking research (e.g. the Bolton, England pub research and the Bulawayo beer gardens research).

In discussing these three anthropological studies, we have compared a common theme in all three communities, the style and purpose of drinking. Style, of course, can be observed; whereas determining purpose in a culture of drinking requires more varied ethnographic techniques. In summary, the major comparisons are of a) motivation or rationale of the study, b) methodology, and c) purpose and style of the drinking congregation. In addition, we have given special attention to a unique theme in each study. In discussing the Bolton, England study we have focussed on special occasion hard drinking and cultural remission (Rieff, 1968:232-33; Stivers, 1976:89-90). With the Bulawayo, Rhodesia study, we have discussed the issue of the effect of state controlled public drinking on steering Black Africans away from politics and other activities threatening to the White African Administration. We have discussed Harry Wolcott's assessment of the role of beer gardens in counter insurgency and have advanced our own hypothesis. In discussing a special theme in the Teso, Kenya study, we have focussed on Ivan Karp's special interest, the significance of public drinking to the larger social organization of Teso society. Or more specifically we have examined Karp's findings of how beer drinking promotes solidarity but also reveals the schisms and fears in the community.

Public Drinking and Cultural Remission: The Bolton, England Study

The motivation for the Worktown (Bolton, England) study in the late 1930s is expressed by Tom Harrisson in his pre-title page note on the Mass Observation research group philosophy:

> Mass Observation is an independent, scientific, fact-finding body...For five years it has documented the processes of social change, of political trend, of public and private opinion, in a series of books, bulletins, broadcasts and articles.
>
> Mass Observation does not believe that social science can effectively operate only at the academic level. Its job is to study real life; and the people it studies are people who can be interested immediately in its results, which often directly concern their everyday lives. (Mass Observation, 1943:2).

The Mass Observation co-operative research group and its freelance anthropologist leader, Tom Harrisson, were determined to do survey research that was reliable and informative. Their research would fall in the category of what Anselm Strauss has called grounded theory. This generally refers to collecting and analyzing data in a reliable manner and presenting it in a readable form for a literate audience. The test of the quality of these grounded theory studies is whether the audience gains from the study beyond what it can learn through ordinary discourse and daily media (Strauss and Glaser, 1967).

A major goal of Mass Observation was to publish high level survey work and scholarship on the recreational life and work life of ordinary people living in an English industrial town. They chose Bolton--a city of approximately 200,000 persons north-west of Manchester. Except for a preface which summarizes methods, the authors omit a special section on methodology--probably because of their strong interest in making their non-fiction books attractive to a large audience outside universities.

In regard to motivation for the Worktown research, Tom Harrisson commented in the preface:

> I happened to spend the years 1932-35 exploring some of the most primitive and uncivilized parts of the world, including Central Borneo . . . It was gradually borne in upon me that things I was doing, at great expense, in these difficult jungles, had not been done in the wilds of Lancashire and East Anglia. While studiously tabulating the primitive, we had practically no objective anthropology of ourselves, despite many "social surveys" on a statistical basis. (Mass Observation, 1943:7).
>
> The original team of investigators came in (to Bolton, England known as "Worktown") simply because they were enthusiastic for the idea of making an anthropological survey of ourselves. We have called it Worktown...because it is just a town that exists and persists on the basis of industrial work, an anonymous one in the long list of such British towns where most of our people now earn and spend. (Mass Observation, 1943:8).

In the Worktown studies of which The Pub and the People was the first published, the authors wanted to reach a broad audience of average citizens and leaders so as to dispel many of the negative stereotypes that were held of working people of England.

The focus on the pub was a way to do this. The researchers were interested in drinking behaviour, but their major goal was to paint an accurate picture of working people in an English city. Even though the authors emphasized the "factual" side of their research work, they developed an excellent social science analysis and theoretical discussion. The Pub and the People is a classic blend of reporting and interpretation.

Our inferred construction of the Mass Observation methodology is that the observers made every effort to blend in with town life and to be unobtrusive in the pubs. Some of their data was gathered obtrusively, and this part of the project was done during the last third of the two-year study. After sixteen months had passed, the team no longer needed data from unobtrusive methods. They were at a stage when they could come out in the open and develop research relationships with the subjects of the study.

Mass Observation's methodology was ethnographic. Their approach was as innovative for England as the Lynds' ethnographic study of Muncie, Indiana, ten years earlier (Lynd and Lynd, 1929). The researchers combined extensive unobserved and observed observation with a large number of informant interviews. They also sought out historical and demographic materials such as "Average Beer Consumption Per Hundred of Population, 1860-1930" (Mass Observation, 1943:216). What made their approach different from most of the leading social anthropology of the 1920s and 1930s -- namely the work of Malinowski in Melanesia and Evans-Pritchard in the Sudan -- was 1) focussing on England and 2) focussing on city rather than country people. Their participant observation was different from that of Malinowski (1950) and Evans-Pritchard (1940) in that the researchers were able to be "unobserved" during the first year of the study. The observers were from England -- often from the Manchester-Bolton area -- and consequently they could blend into the city of Bolton. Consequently, they gathered observations that were largely unchanged by their presence. A second advantage that the Bolton researchers had over European anthropologists working in colonial settings was that the Mass Observation people were able to cross class barriers. Their research group was probably a mix of people from grammar and public schools. The orientation of the public school members of the group was probably similar to that of George Orwell -- very non-elitist and sympathetic to working people and the unemployed (Orwell, 1958:179-185; originally published in 1937). Orwell had grown up in a privileged upper middle class environment, but he was able to blend in with the least privileged members of society in his stint as a waiter in Paris and a tramp in London (Orwell, 1958:179-185).

The Mass Observation staff in Bolton was probably more attentive than Orwell to selecting apparel to blend into life in the men's vault (bar) and taproom and fit into the ambience of the couples' parlour (lounge). Successful entry into these environments would have required the researchers to vary their dress according to the time of week and according to the social mode of drinking.

Level drinking, standing rounds, and the actual process of imbibing the alcohol (usually bottles of beer) are well described in The Pub and the People. To better understand level drinking or the process in which a drinking group unselfconsciously finishes its beers together, the researchers unobtrusively timed drinkers in Bolton and in Brighton. In the Brighton sample of 1,000 drinkers during mid-week, drinkers would average 13 minutes per half-pint (a

British gill). On Saturday nights, Brighton pub goers would average 7 minutes per half-pint. Pint drinkers would usually catch up with each successive round. In Bolton, the researchers found with a smaller sample of 173 that Wednesday averaged 11 minutes for a gill and Friday averaged 7 minutes.

Level drinking is closely related to the custom of standing rounds:

> In a drinking group each man in turn buys a round of drinks for the whole group. So as not to create the situation in which the others are waiting for him to finish before he buys them their drinks, he tends to set the pace for the drinking, in order to drain his glass a little ahead of anyone else. The others at the same time, are tending to drink level with him. Therefore, the speed as well as the amount drunk in the group is influenced by its financial situation. (Mass Observation, 1943:176-77).

The authors of The Pub and the People concluded that "standing rounds is a form of social compulsion of great advantage to the brewers. It makes people drink more, and even spend what they can't afford." (Mass Observation, 1943:179). To give an example they mentioned a typical group of seven youthful drinkers on a Saturday night. The practice or ritual of standing rounds compels each man to buy and receive at least seven drinks (Mass Observation, 1943:179).

The observers found that the person expected to buy next is the leader for that round of level drinking. He finishes up first (by a seeming fraction of a second), buys and starts the next round of level drinking. The amount spent is influenced by the day of the week and the number in the pub. The two factors usually go together. At mid-week, the numbers in the bar are the lowest and on weekends, there is the heaviest turnout and the most partying.

The Mass Observation research group knew from experience that the pubs were used for release on an everyday basis and as cultural remission at certain times of the year.[1]

In regard to what kind of release people felt they were getting, the Mass Observation researchers found that less than half of 312 persons arrested for being drunk during 1938 in Brighton reported that "celebrating with friends" was the reason for drinking. Eighty-nine reported habit; fifty-two reported depression and worry; and thirty-five reported medical or other reasons.

The Mass Observation researchers called the periodic crazy behaviour in and near the pubs "social intoxication": " . . . we must look upon it as a social phenomenon, as a pretty regular minority social process of self-liberation from the weekly routine and time-clock factory whistle dimension of living . . ." (Mass Observation, 1943:252).

Some became "socially intoxicated" on weekends and holidays -- particularly Christmas Eve because they felt miserable. Others sought their remission because they felt joyous. Their conclusion regarding this apparent contradiction was that " . . . both are getting some sort of release" (Mass Observation, 1943:252).

Powerlessness, Marginality, and Public Drinking: The Beer Gardens of Urban Rhodesia

In going to Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) for a faculty research leave, Harry Wolcott was primarily interested in "delving into formal and informal aspects of enculturation among urban African youth" (Wolcott, 1974:3). The Ministry of African Education refused Wolcott clearance on this topic. Then he submitted other topics to various divisions of the White Administration of which urban beer drinking was his lowest priority. To his surprise, the White Administration gave Wolcott clearance to conduct a beer drinking study in Bulawayo. Wolcott was puzzled as to why the Administration allowed him this topic and not others. But he concluded that the Administration perceived little danger in this research to their governance of African populations. Moreover, Wolcott surmised that the Bulawayo Housing and Amenities Department saw this research as a basis for improving their services, i.e. lessening problems in and from the Administration-run beer halls (Wolcott, 1974:5-6).

Harry Wolcott visited Rhodesia as a professor on leave from the University of Oregon. Prior to the Rhodesian research in 1970, Wolcott had published ethnographies on a coastal British Columbia Indian community and school culture (Wolcott, 1967), and on mainstream American school culture (Wolcott, 1970). If given the opportunity, Wolcott would have continued the ethnographic approach with urban Africans in Bulawayo. However, the tight control of citizens and visiting researchers circumscribed what Wolcott could attempt in Bulawayo. Consequently, he had to limit his research work to non-participant observation, some informal interviewing, and formal interviews with White and Black Rhodesians (1974:4).

Drinking has its manifestations in opposites. It can be observed as a solace for those lacking power and centrality in society and as a mode of celebration for the powerful and well positioned. The Bulawayo study by Harry Wolcott (1974) is a comprehensive account of how indigenous drinking is controlled by the colonial administration. The White Government's Department of Housing and Amenities created municipal beer gardens for the urban Black workers. What is particularly instructive here is to compare this highly regulated drinking in Southern Africa with colonial or quasi-colonial situations in other continents. For example, Wolcott compares the Bulawayo drinking patterns with those of Kwakiutl Indians of the northwest coast of Canada. A major contrast was the Bulawayo Africans' reluctance to blame the substance for bad behaviour under the influence and the Kwakiutl readiness to blame alcohol for drunken behaviour. Kwakiutl and other North American Indian groups tend to define alcohol as a foreign substance. Consequently, the Kwakiutl see alcohol as a disruptive element in their social life. Their thinking and behaviour reflect the dialectic of binge drinking and sobriety. The notion of easy-going social drinking is not part of the Kwakiutl orientation (Wolcott, 1974:14,203).

In contrast, the Africans of Bulawayo are convinced that the general practice in drinking is sociability. There are so many southern African ceremonial uses of alcohol that skill in drinking is a very basic part of being a normal adult. Consequently, persons who become socially disruptive under the influence are seen as defective adults or as deviating normal persons. Their deviations are precipitated by difficulties at work or at home. Beer then becomes a vehicle for temporary escape rather than a means for ceremony and

sociability. However, the Bulawayo Africans are reluctant to blame the alcohol for the drunken episode. Rather, the problem is explained by the defectiveness of the person or it is labeled as a temporary deviation.

MacAndrew's and Edgerton's (1969) theory of drunken comportment can be used effectively to account for the sharply differing attitudes toward drunkenness of North American Indians (e.g. Kwakiutl) and South Africans (e.g. Bulawayo urban Africans). The Kwakiutl expect hard drinking and excessive use when alcohol is in circulation. In contrast, Bulawayo urban Africans perceived excessive use of alcohol as deviant and socially unacceptable. Throughout sub-Saharan Africa, there is multi-usage of alcohol: a variety of ceremonial/ recreational usages. However, among North American Indians, there is most commonly a mono-usage of alcohol: the use of alcohol for drunkenness. This contrast may sound overly simplistic, but there is a comparative theory to be gained here. Societies construct -- usually over long periods of time -- their accceptable ways of using alcohol. Many North American Indian groups (including the Kwakiutl) have organized a Dionysian mono-use of alcohol -- the transformation from normal everyday consciousness to visionary/ecstatic consciousness. African groups have organized a multi-use of alcohol in which alcohol is brought into a variety of sad and happy events. In contrast to North American Indians, Black Africans of southern and eastern Africa tend not to use alcohol for major transformation in consciousness.

In his introductory overview of "integrated drinking in a segregated society", Harry Wolcott concluded that "...the municipal beer industry provided an integrating link that contributed nobly to maintaining the status quo in the relationship between Africans and Europeans" (Wolcott, 1974:19). Wolcott further elaborated that "African beer...facilitated rapport and prompted social solidarity; it dissipated some pent-up hostility and frustration; it enhanced gaiety and exuberance; and it contributed to accepting things as they were" (Wolcott, 1974:19).

Ironically, the beer gardens "prompted social solidarity" which probably contributed to the ultimate defeat of the White minority rule in Rhodesia. Presumably, the White Administration must have seen this potential contribution to revolution as of much less importance than the counter-revolutionary significance of the beer gardens' contribution "to accepting things as they were". In fact, the White mayor of Salisbury had stated in 1967: "The Rufaro Brewery has been an important contributory factor to the level of happiness which we have been able to maintain in recent times" (Salisbury, Liquor Undertaking Department, 1967; quoted in Wolcott, 1974:224).

Zimbabwe became independent under Black African majority rule in less than a decade following the publication of Harry Wolcott's beer gardens of Bulawayo study. This Black African success against the White African independent rule government of Ian Smith followed the long period of guerilla combat, non-violent resistance, and negotiation by the British Government including monitored elections. The "Zimbabwe Solution" of the early 1980s has attracted considerable international attention primarily because Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe and Salvador Allende's Chile are the only post-World War II nations that have achieved Marxist governments without violent revolution.

In reviewing the issue of the contribution that beer halls may make to conventional politics, insurgency, or to counter-revolution, we realize that it would be presumptuous for African researchers to give the solidarity-building aspects of beer gardens major credit in promoting revolutionary change. Nevertheless, we are willing to put forward the very tentative hypothesis that the Rhodesian Black African urban beer gardens were arenas that indirectly aided the shift from White minority to Black majority rule in that former British colonial nation. Yet, as Harry Wolcott points out in this 1970 study, there was no opportunity for direct politics at the beer halls because of the presence of informers. However, the beer gardens probably served as places to plan other meetings -- secret political get-togethers in their homes.

The Underlife of Commensal Drinking: Beer Ceremonies in Rural Kenya

Harry Wolcott's and Ivan Karp's respective positions and orientations in and regarding research are very similar even though Wolcott worked in White minority-ruled Rhodesia and Karp in Black majority-ruled Kenya. In addition to both scholars being North American anthropologists with opportunities for field research in Africa, they are both concerned with global comparisons. For example, each has given major attention to the questions of how much and in what ways African drinking differs from American Indian or European drinking.

Whereas Harry Wolcott has expressed very low interest in studying African beer drinking, Ivan Karp sees studying commensal beer drinking as one of the key ways of unveiling the basic logic of the Teso social order: "I believe that beer drinking is Iteso social theory" (Karp, 1980:83). Karp and other Africanists have given attention to beer drinking not to contribute to alcohol studies literature but rather to use commensal beer drinking as a window to the structure and logic of the society.

In eastern and southern Africa, beer places and fests are key arenas for anthropologists because these are the places where the important figures (the older men) in the community usually congregate and conduct ceremonies. So for an anthropologist doing general ethnography and studies of social structure, it is of practical importance to join the older men while they drink beer.

Ivan Karp is particularly interested in how Teso (and other African groups) think and feel about their adult existence. Karp's analysis is more than an investigation of values among rural people in independent Kenya. His inquiry includes a) looking at the group and human life philosophically, and b) inferring how this group reflects on existence. This involves a special methodology -- a personal methodology in which global intellectuality and empathy are needed. Karp has these skills and uses them well in the Teso study.

Ivan Karp begins his article with the commentary: "In the afternoons of almost every day old men gather their beer straws and carriers...and wander throughout neighborhoods in search of beer...(even) the few people who do not drink beer... attend and are an important part of beer parties. They give them and attend them." (Karp, 1980:84). In his Appendix, Ivan Karp lists some occasions on which beer is required. These are called beer of work, friendship, visit, women (non-neighbours who work co-operatively together), cows (bride-

wealth ceremony), cow (inheritance ceremony), plow (upon its purchase), twins, wedding, first sowing, and beer of the first finger miller harvest. (Karp, 1980:117-118).[2]

"Much understanding" or a high level of sociability in Simmel's use of the term is what the Teso work for or play for in a beer gathering. According to Ivan Karp, the Teso "regard 'much understanding' as difficult to achieve and the exclusion of the welter of identities, interests, and antagonisms that are characteristic of interaction outside the beer party as not easy to obtain. The intoxicating quality of beer is a means for accomplishing both the goal of sociability that is the essence of the beer party and the exclusion of other concerns that are necessary for the achievement of these goals." (Karp, 1980:106).

Karp develops Simmel's insight about how sociability ceases or becomes a sham when this "play form" gets "entangled with real life" (Simmel, 1974:134). Karp uses this observation or idea of Simmel to discuss the "underlife" of the Teso beer party -- underlife in the sense of Erving Goffman's Relations in Public. Karp argues that the Teso construct the beer party to transcend the pettiness and treachery of ordinary life -- life of kin relations, work relations, marriage relations, etc. Their existential problem is their perpetual fear of the conflict-ridden side of life entering into the sought-for harmony of beer drinking.

Karp reports that the Teso "believe that the beer party is a place where violence often happens and where sorcery is practiced" (Karp, 1980:109). However, over two years of continuous field work among the Teso people including practically daily participation in commensal beer gatherings, Ivan Karp never observed a fight nor did he detect any machinations of sorcery.

Karp found very little empirical indication of sorcerers or poisoners at work in the Teso community. Yet, due largely to the difficulty of life and the belief that sorcery is endemic, most deaths are judged by Teso to be the result of physical or magical poisoning. The Teso are very paranoid about the presence of sorcerers or sorcery at their beer parties. Swelling of the stomach (often from amoebic dysentery, reports Karp) is a common sign of being sorcerized among rural Teso.

Ivan Karp observed that "an important locus of poisoning...is among lineage mates who compete for scarce resources. Here, as in other social spheres, the contradiction of outward sign and inward state is presented to them. Lineage members are among the persons with whom they must drink beer and display the forms of solidarity and sociability...These hidden antagonisms (over the allocation of scarce resources and the fear of the corresponding malice of sorcery and poisoning)...do not result from the act of beer drinking or the beer party. They are brought to the beer party by the persons involved." (Karp, 1980:112).

In his conclusion, Karp points out that even though "beer is a symbol of the Teso ideal of diffuse solidarity and unencumbered sociability", "the association of beer drinking with sorcery and poisoning...points to the inability of Iteso to achieve desired forms of relations among men." (Karp, 1980:84). Ivan Karp finally places the Teso in both planetary perspective and in common ploit with other human groups struggling to transcend tedium and conflict:

They present themselves with the dilemma of the discrepancy between what is displayed and what is felt, both by themselves and others. This is not a particularly Iteso problem. It is, as Geertz stresses (in The Interpretation of Cultures), an existential dilemma; that is, a universal human problem cast in a culturally specific idiom (Geertz, 1973:363). The beer party is the Iteso means of imagining the antinomines of their experience of self, society, and other. (Karp, 1980:114).

Discussion

Personal release and cultural and social remission are themes that are found in these studies of beer drinking in Bolton, England; Bulawayo, Zimbabwe; and among the Teso of western Kenya. The Pub and the People gives primary attention to the release from social convention that the pubs provide on weekends and holidays. By way of contrast, it is interesting that Ivan Karp observed that the Teso look for achievement of ideal social relations -- referred to as understanding -- in their beer drinking get-togethers. That is, the Teso are, to some extent, looking for fulfillment of social expectations rather than remission. Release, then, for the Teso is found in organizing or participating in a beer party that achieves politeness and decorum. Improper use of one's drinking straw, entering the room inappropriately, or sitting in the wrong place are emphasized transgressions among the Teso. Then as a reward for the Teso beer drinker there is the exhilaration of being part of a community of adults gathering together and momentarily transcending the tensions of daily relations.

There is never an element of anonymity in Teso beer drinking. It is a familial, kin, and village affair in which each participant shares a number of relationships with the other participants. In contrast, the beer drinking in the pubs of Bolton and in the beer gardens of Bulawayo includes a distinct element of anonymity. In both Bolton and Bulawayo, men (the large majority of patrons) share beer drinking with a coterie of friends, but the relation to the larger setting beyond one's coterie is often characterized by relative anonymity. Consequently, release from the burdens of family and work can be pursued with a relative abandonment of social decorum. Hard drinking and even drunkenness on weekends and holidays are not avoided by the drinkers in Bolton and Bulawayo. There is a generally shared assumption that most drinkers can remain "social" even in the midst of hard drinking and drunkenness.

Danger and the fascination and excitement that danger engenders are probably common elements in these three settings and in most public drinking gatherings. For the Bulawayo beer garden patrons in southern Africa at the time of the study (1970), there were at least two major dangers -- the danger of being shamed among one's peers and the danger of getting in trouble with the White authorities. For the pub-goers in Bolton, England, there were similar dangers in the decade prior to World War II -- namely dangers of a) social offensiveness and physical incompetence and b) getting arrested for drunkenness. For the Kenyan Teso beer party participants the primary dangers were a) sorcery and poisoning and b) personal incompetence in the use of alcohol.

For most of these participants in Bolton, England, in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, or in rural western Kenya, there is no requirement to take part in or initiate a

drinking occasion; that is, there is no requirement of participation as there is in most economic or jural events. Consequently, these drinking occasions are in Georg Simmel's sense "play worlds". But play worlds require competence and even precision of the actors. Social danger gives these play worlds a dramatic edge. Moreover, the central nervous system effects of alcohol heighten the overall sense of danger and consequently enhance the satisfaction for most of the participants.

Notes

[1] Richard Stivers has examined this drinking phenomenon in Irish and Irish-American history (1976:75-100). In Calgary, Canada, Ossenberg has looked at white middle class cultural remission (Ossenberg, 1969). Anthony Thomas has reported on drinking and cultural remission in working class pubs in urban New England (Thomas, 1978).

[2] In our studies in Kenya, we found that among the Kamba, circumcision/clitoridectomy was followed by beer drinking. In contrast to Ivan Karp's many opportunities for ceremonial beer drinking, we only observed this one instance of ceremonial drinking following the opertion of male/female circumcision/clitoridectomy. Most drinking among the rural Kamba was done in the native beer shops at the legal hours -- usually 4-8 p.m. (Kramer, 1980; Kramer and Thomas, 1982; Thomas, 1975).

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LEGAL LIABILITIES OF LICENSED ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE ESTABLISHMENTS: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

James F. Mosher*

Introduction[1]

"Dram shop" liability is a complicated legal concept that has become a controversial and highly-publicized issue in the United States (and, to some extent, in Canada) today. It refers to the potential liability of the furnisher of alcoholic beverages for the negligent, reckless, or intentional conduct of the drinking patron which causes harm to either the drinker or a third party. The parameters of dram shop liability are established on a state-by-state (or, in Canada, on a province-by-province) basis by state legislatures and/or the state court systems. States have taken varied approaches to the myriad factual situations that arise in dram shop litigation. Trial and appellate courts even within a single state often contradict each other and offer differing interpretations of relevant state statutes, which has led to tremendous uncertainty in the law.

This paper offers an introduction to dram shop liability and explores its potential role in societal efforts to prevent alcohol-related problems. It focuses on the potential liability of public drinking commercial establishments, and does not address the impact of dram shop policies on other types of commercial enterprises or on social hosts. Part I outlines the key factual and policy variables common to all dram shop law suits. Part II reports on its current status

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* Administrative Director, Prevention Research Group (PRG), Medical Research Institute of San Francisco (MRI); Study Director, Prevention Research Center (PRC), Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation (PIRE). Mr. Mosher is also a Study Director with PRG, Institute of Epidemiology and Behavioural Medicine, MRI.

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in the 50 states and describes trends in legal policy and public opinion over the last five years. Part III provides a critique of current legal practices, and the Conclusion discusses implications for prevention policy.

I. Key Variables of Dram Shop Cases

Every dram shop case must address several key issues to be resolved:

(1) Should dram shop liability be recognized as a matter of social policy? The first issue that any court must resolve when faced with a dram shop claim is whether, as a matter of legal and social policy, licensees may be held liable for actions taken by their patrons. The traditional common law doctrine bars recovery of such "third party" claims. As stated in State for Use of Joyce v. Hatfield, 197 Md. 249, 254-255, 78 A.2d 754, 756 (1953):

> The common law knows no right of action against a seller of intoxicating liquors, as such, for 'causing' intoxication of the person whose negligent or wilful wrong has caused injury. Human beings, drunk or sober, are responsible for their own torts. The law (apart from statute) recognizes no relation of proximate cause between a sale of liquor and a tort committed by a buyer who has drunk the liquor.

As the Maryland court suggests, the traditional common law rule can be and has been overruled by state legislatures. Twenty-three such statutes exist today. Most of these date back to the nineteenth century and are narrowly drawn, although in several cases modern courts have reinterpreted particular provisions to permit recovery in a wide variety of circumstances (see Part II for discussion). Dram shop cases brought under a statutory provision rest on the court's interpretation of legislative intent.

The so-called "new" common law rule, which has become the majority rule in the United States (see Part II), holds that servers may be found liable in at least certain circumstances, even without a specific legislative mandate. Some states have both common law and statutory liability; courts in these jurisdictions have ruled that the legislature, in passing a restrictive statute, did not intend to "preempt" the court's authority to establish the new rule. The New Jersey Supreme Court, in a leading dram shop case, provides a typical justification for permitting liability:

> When alcoholic beverages are sold by a tavern keeper to a minor or to an intoxicated person, the unreasonable risk of harm not only to the minor or the intoxicated person but also to members of the traveling public may readily be recognized and foreseen; this is particularly evident in current times when traveling by car to and from the tavern is so commonplace and accidents resulting from drinking are so frequent... If the patron is a minor or is intoxicated when served, the tavern keeper's sale to him is unlawful; and if the circumstances are such that the tavern keeper knows or should know that the patron is a minor or is intoxicated, his service to him may also constitute common law negligence. (Rappaport v. Nichols, 31 N.J. 188, 194-95, 156 A.2d 1, 8-9 (1959)).

The new rule may be based on two different legal doctrines - negligence per se and ordinary negligence. The negligence per se doctrine rests on a determination that a criminal statute was enacted by the state legislature to protect particular groups of individuals from harm. In dram shop cases, courts have held that criminal statutes prohibiting sales to minors and obviously intoxicated persons were enacted in part to protect the public from such patrons causing injuries (see, e.g., Johnson v. United States, 496 F.Supp. 597 (1980)). A negligence per se holding has implications for a plaintiff's and a defendant's handling of a particular case - who must prove what in what circumstances - issues beyond the scope of this paper.

The ordinary negligence doctrine does not rest on any legislative provision, applying instead negligence principles relevant to other personal injury law suits (see, e.g., Rappaport v. Nichols, supra). Two key issues concern: (a) whether the patron's actions causing harm to the plaintiff were "reasonably foreseeable" to the licensee; and (b) whether the licensee acted with the care that would be expected of a "reasonable person" in like circumstances. Unlike negligence per se cases, these factual issues are not presumed and must be proven by the plaintiff in order to establish liability.

Many courts confuse these policy issues - whether, as a matter of law, servers may be held liable for actions taken by their patrons - as issues of fact. But whether dram shop liability exists is not a matter for the jury to resolve; the court must make this determination, and if the traditional rule (that there is no liability) is followed, the case will be dismissed.

(2) Who may be found liable? All states which recognize dram shop liability make retail establishments licensed by the state (both on-sale and off-sale) potentially liable for harms caused by their patrons. Several ancillary issues can arise, however, even in the context of this apparently straightforward standard. What about establishments or organizations which act as if they are licensees, but do not obtain a license (see, e.g., Wiener v. Gamma Phi Chapter of Alpha Tau Omega Fraternity, 258 Or. 632, 485 P.2d 18 (1971))? Are military-base clubs, which are clearly acting as retailers but are not required to obtain a state license, potentially liable (see, e.g., Johnson v. United States, supra)? Are licensed caterers, who do not serve in a physical establishment, included? Are government monopoly stores potentially liable? Finally, suppose a retail establishment serves employees or others outside the usual course of business (at a private party, for example) (see, e.g., Johnson v. United States, supra). All of these factual situations have arisen in particular dram shop cases, and courts have reached differing outcomes.

Nonlicensed servers may also be sued in given circumstances. Most controversial is the potential liability of social hosts - private citizens, universities or businesses not in the business of selling alcohol - who serve private guests (or permit others to serve guests in their homes). States have reached widely divergent decisions in these cases, with liability more likely to result if the drinkers being served are underaged. (As stated above, this topic will not be reviewed here, as it goes beyond the specific focus on commercial establishments).*

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* See Liability of Persons Furnishing, on Social Occasion, Intoxicating Liquor, for Negligent Act of Intoxicated Minor Causing Injury to Plaintiff, 53 A.L.R.3d 1285 (1973) for discussion.

(3) What actions constitute actionable negligence? The two most common retail practices which lead to a dram shop case are: (a) serving those under the minimum drinking age; and (b) serving obviously or apparently intoxicated adults. All 50 states have set minimum drinking ages and all but 6 states prohibit service to obviously intoxicated persons. Several dram shop statutes specifically provide that injuries or other damage resulting from such actions may be grounds for liability. Serving underaged patrons involves the greatest risk, as many courts will permit the liability even if the minor is sober at the time of the sale and has purchased alcohol at other establishments. This form of liability therefore adds an important but often overlooked variable to the recent debates regarding raising the minimum age for legal drinking. The serving "obviously (or apparently) intoxicated adult" standard creates a different set of problems for retailers. In general, courts assume that obvious intoxication is readily apparent to any reasonable person. The court in Division of Alcoholic Beverage Control v. Zane, 99 N.J. Super. 196 (App. Div. 1961) provides a typical statement on the topic:

> Whether the man is sober or intoxicated is a matter of common observation not requiring special knowledge or skill. When used in conjunction with the words 'actually intoxicated,' we believe the language... provides a sufficiently understandable description of the conduct of persons to whom sales of alcoholic beverages is forbidden. The term 'apparently' refers to the observable manifestations or symptoms of excessive indulgence in alcoholic beverages. It portrays a person so far under the influence of alcoholic beverages that his conduct and demeanor have departed from the normal pattern of behavior.

The application of this common-sense standard, however, can be problematical. Many drunk drivers may not be "obviously intoxicated" when served, at least to a busy bartender, but actions taken after the last drink may be seen by others as evidencing drunken behaviour, particularly after the fact. Licensees are put at a particularly vulnerable position in a subsequent law suit, since a jury is likely to be more sympathetic to a drunk-driver's victim than to the commercial vendor who profited from the sale.

Other licensee actions related to the sale of alcoholic beverages may also lead to liability. Many dram shop statutes include serving "habitual drunkards" as a practice that may lead to liability on the part of licensed establishments, usually for the drunkard's family support (see, e.g., Henderson v. People's Pharmacy Co., 2 P.2d 1090 (Colo. 1931)). While many such statutes exist, the provisions have fallen into disuse and raise possible constitutional problems. A modern version of this concept involves serving a person known by the licensee to be particularly sensitive to the effects of alcohol. (See, e.g., Cantor v. Anderson, 126 Cal. App.3d 124, 178 Cal. Rptr. 540 (1982); see Colman 1984a for discussion.) In Cantor, the server allegedly knew that the drinker would lose control and become violent due to an abnormal mental condition. In permitting liability, the court drew a distinction between an ordinary intoxicated person who voluntarily drinks and a consumer who has an exceptional physical or mental condition.

Finally, several courts appear to permit law suits in at least two circumstances for serving an intoxicated person even if the drinker does not display

obvious signs of intoxication. First, licensees have a special duty to protect patrons from harms occurring within the establishment and in its immediate environs (such as the parking lot). Thus, barroom brawls, fights, or mishaps inside the establishment may provide the basis for liability if the licensee fails to take reasonable precautions to protect innocent victims even if the perpetrator did not show obvious signs of intoxication when served. Second, some courts have stated that, if the licensee should have known that a particular patron was becoming intoxicated based on factors other than behavioural signs (an exceptionally high number of drinks consumed, for example), an ordinary negligence action may be permitted. (See, e.g., Deeds v. United States, 306 F. Supp. 348 (1969)(dicta)). To date, no cases have been found which actually permit liability in such circumstances.

(4) Who may sue? The classic dram shop scenario involves an innocent third party injured by the intoxicated patron served by the licensee: patron A leaves a bar owned by licensee B and causes a crash with victim C, who did not contribute to his or her own injury. All courts which recognize dram shop liability include victim C as a potential plaintiff. Courts are split, however, on other factual situations. Suppose victim C was a drinking partner of patron A and actually encouraged him or her to become intoxicated. C may have "assumed the risk" or been contributorily negligent, both of which are potential defenses that may be asserted by licensee B. Can patron A sue licensee B for injuries which he or she sustained in the accident? Can the spouses and families of either A or C sue? Does patron A's right to sue rest on whether he or she is underaged? Courts in the various states have reached different resolutions for these questions and factual scenarios.

(5) Other variables: At least two other factual and policy issues must be resolved by courts when faced with a dram shop law suit. First, courts must also determine what types of losses or injuries may be compensated - actual damages (medical bills, damages to personal property), pain and suffering, punitive damages, loss of support, etc. As in any negligence action, the plaintiff must show that there is a factual chain between the licensee's action in serving alcohol and the subsequent injury. No liability will be found, for example, if the injury was caused by a highway defect which the intoxicated driver could not have avoided even if sober. In most dram shop cases, then, the licensee must be shown to have contributed to the intoxication of the minor or to have served an obviously intoxicated adult, and the patron's intoxication must be shown to have been a contributing cause to the ensuing injury. As noted above, many courts confuse this factual question with policy determinations.

II Current Status of Dram Shop Liability

There are currently 23 states with dram shop liability statutes. An additional 9 states and the District of Columbia have established dram shop liability as a matter of court-made common law. Seven of the 33 jurisdictions with liability have both statutory and common law (see Table 1). These figures are based exclusively on State Supreme Court opinions, as lower courts do not have the authority to establish statewide policy. As discussed later, many states without liability as state policy do recognize it de facto through trial and lower appellate court practices.

The statutory states can be broken into two general categories based on the date when the legislative measure was enacted. Fourteen statutes are at least 30 years old, with most of these dating back to the turn of the century. Their statutory language is usually archaic and their provisions address social problems of a different era. They were meant to deal primarily with the tavern's service to "habitual drunkards" and were used by the temperance movement to seek support for the drunkard's family. Several pre-Prohibition temperance tracts mention dram shop suits as a symbolic gesture to increase the public's awareness of the "evils" of the saloon. The actual sums of money involved were apparently rather small, and their use was limited (for review, see Mosher 1979).

The applicability of these 14 statutes to modern social conditions therefore rests on the particular language used: is it broad enough to encompass current alcohol problems, most notably drunk driving? Six statutes now in existence are so restrictive as to eliminate most if not all modern suits against licensed establishments. The Colorado statute, for example, permits suits only if licensees serve habitual drunkards, and it requires the drunkard's family or employer to notify the licensee in writing not to sell or to give any alcohol to the drunkard before a complaint can be filed. Ohio and Wyoming have similar statutes, and several other states which had "habitual drunkard" liability provisions have since repealed them. Georgia permits liability if a licensee serves a minor, but permits suits to be brought only by parents. This effectively eliminates dram shop suits today, since most plaintiffs are third parties injured by the minor in subsequent accidents. Illinois and Connecticut have low statutory limits for recovery ($20,000 and $50,000, respectively).

The remaining eight pre-1950 statutes have language broad enough to permit recovery for most consequences of intoxication. The Maine statute is typical:

> 17 M.R.S.A. 2002. Responsibility for injuries by drunken persons.
>
> Every wife, child, parent, guardian, husband or other person, who is injured in person, property, means of support or otherwise by any intoxicated person or by reason of the intoxication of any person, shall have a right of action in his own name against anyone who, by selling or giving any intoxicating liquors or otherwise, in violation of law, has caused or contributed to the intoxication of such person. In such action the plaintiff may recover both actual and exemplary damages... In actions by a wife, husband, parent or child, general reputation of such relationship is prima facie evidence thereof, and the amount recovered by a wife or child shall be her or his sole and separate property.

This language was originally drafted primarily to provide for loss of family support, but the terms "intoxicated person" and "in violation of law" provide vehicles for broad court interpretation. Modern-day licensees can be held liable for injuries caused by their underaged and intoxicated patrons, even in circumstances when modern negligence principles would bar or limit recovery. (See, e.g., Feuerherm v. Ertelt, 286 N.W.2d 509 (N.D. 1979)).

Nine states have enacted new statutes since 1971, and seven of these have been passed in the last five years. Florida and California have passed very restrictive laws limiting a licensee's liability. The Florida statute, passed in 1980, permits liability only if a licensee "willfully" serves a minor or habitual drunkard; the California statute, enacted in 1978, permits law suits only if a licensee serves an "obviously intoxicated minor". Both clearly prohibit any dram shop liability in circumstances other than the instances specified; thus, licensees can apparently serve adults without fear of subsequent law suits (although, as discussed later, courts have not adhered strictly to this interpretation). The remaining "new" statutes - Alaska, Iowa, New Mexico, Oregon, and Utah - all permit broad recovery, relying substantially on common law principles.

State Supreme Courts in the District of Columbia and in nine states without dram shop liability have established dram shop liability as a matter of common law. The first decision was in New Jersey (Rappaport v. Nichols, supra) in 1959, and involved a licensee serving a minor. Indiana (1966), Massachusetts (1967), and the District of Columbia (1973) followed the New Jersey precedent during the next 14 years, although several cases specifically rejected the Rappaport policy during the same period. California and Florida, both of which now have restrictive statutes, established common law liability (in 1971 and 1963, respectively) only to have their state legislatures reverse or limit the court decisions. Mississippi, Idaho, Hawaii, South Dakota, Arizona, and Washington have all established statewide dram shop liability in the last five years, at least for serving minors (see Tables 1 and 2 for details).

Seven additional states permit both statutory and common law liability. Ohio and Wyoming are the most important of these states, because both have very restrictive statutes (see above); the court-made law thus substantially expands the legislative mandate. Iowa, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, and Pennsylvania have parallel court and legislative policies.

The statutory provisions and Supreme Court decisions can thus be summarized as follows: 26 states and the District of Columbia provide for relatively broad dram shop liability, and an additional six states permit recovery only in very restrictive situations. This might suggest that there remains considerable disagreement among states over the advisability of adopting the new common law liability rule. Such is not the case, however. As the previous discussion suggests, dram shop liability has been substantially expanded over the last five years. Five of seven legislatures which have enacted new laws have created new liability against licensees. An additional six State Supreme Courts have done so by case decision (two acting concurrently with legislatures). In at least four instances (New Mexico, Wyoming, Washington, and South Dakota), the courts specifically overruled previous court holdings. As the Wyoming court stated in McClellan v. Tottenhoff, 666 P.2d 408, 415 (Wyo. 1983), in overruling a 1971 case:

> We note that several courts have bemoaned the fact that an injured third person had no cause of action, even though they have continued to defer to the legislature. We do not choose to stand by and wring our hands at the unfairness which we ourselves have created.

Perhaps more notable in this recent trend toward liability are the activities taking place in the six states with restrictive statutes and the 18 states with no

statewide liability. During the last five years, Supreme Courts in only five of these jurisdictions (California, Delaware, Montana, Nevada, and Wisconsin) have specifically deferred to state legislatures and refused to adopt the new common law rule. (The Supreme Courts of Arkansas and Nebraska had similar rulings in 1965 and 1976, respectively.) The remaining 17 states have had no Supreme Court review of the issue, and lower court decisions have, in general, favored imposing liability (see Table 2). Colorado, for example, has a very restrictive, antiquated, statute. Yet, a 1974 lower appellate court decision permits common law liability, and it has led to a general acceptance of dram shop law suits statewide (including a $9.5 million settlement in one case -- Pattison v. Brooks, Colo. Dist. Ct., City and County of Denver 80-CV-0876, 1984) even though the Supreme Court has not validated the lower court's action (Kerby v. Flamingo Club, Inc., 532 P.2d 975 (1974).) North Carolina and Missouri lower or federal courts have taken similar action (Chastain v. Litton Systems, Inc., 694 F.2d 957 (1982); Carver et al. v. Schafer et al., 647 S.W.2d 570 (Mo. App. 1983);) a Maryland appeals court refused to do so, but strongly suggested that the legislature should act (Fisher v. O'Connor's, Inc., 452 A.2d 1313 (1982)). Even California courts, operating within their recent restrictive statutes, have developed new theories of liability, which have in turn created substantial uncertainty in the states' legal community (see Colman, 1984a).

This trend toward liability has had a major impact on the handling of dram shop cases at the trial court level throughout the country. An out-of-court settlement for $1.4 million was recently reported in Texas, for example, a state without established liability (Cabiran v. Booe, Civ. St., Harris Co. (Tex 1983)). Insurance companies are reportedly settling many claims regardless of expressed state policy, in part to limit the possibility that state courts will decide to reverse previous decisions or to reinterpret statutory provisions (Peters, 1984). Thus, established state policy does not necessarily mean that claims are being abandoned.

Dram shop liability, then, is becoming an established legal policy in the United States, with state courts and legislatures becoming particularly active in the last five years. This trend could not have been predicted five years ago. When the California legislature enacted its restrictive statute in 1979, it was viewed as a precursor of future changes in other states. The legislative battle pitted the alcohol retail industry against the trial lawyers' association. No health or welfare state agency or community group chose to take sides. The lack of public support for the court-made law convinced the legislature that the retail industry deserved protection from the high costs that accompany dram shop liability (see Mosher, 1979 for review). But state legislative actions since then have made the California law an anomaly. Only Florida has followed suit; efforts by the industry in several other states have either backfired, been defeated, or been vetoed. In the meantime, as reviewed above, six state legislatures and seven Supreme Courts have rejected the California precedent.

This surprising reversal is clearly related to the recent wave of attention to and concern for drunk driving accidents. Several citizens' groups and governmental bodies have endorsed dram shop legislation as part of the drunk driving prevention effort. Doris Aiken, president of Remove Intoxicated Drivers (RID), a citizens' organization, has publicly endorsed dram shop laws (Peters, 1984), and Mothers against Drunk Drivers (MADD) has shown considerable interest in the topic. MADD chapters are distributing pamphlets to members describing how to

assess potential dram shop claims (Peters, 1984). The Presidential Commission on Drunk Driving (1983) and the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration of the Department of Transportation (NHTSA) have endorsed dram shop liability as a legitimate strategy for reducing drunk driving. NHTSA now lists the existence of dram shop liability as one of 21 criteria for states seeking incentive grants for drunk driving programs (a state must satisfy 8 of the 21 criteria to obtain funding). As stated by that agency:

> The potential threat of a substantial jury award resulting from a dram shop suit, charging that (licensees) served liquor to a drunk driver who seriously injured someone can effectively motivate people to stop serving drivers who are obviously becoming intoxicated. (48 Fed. Reg. 5545 (1983)).

Dram shop liability, then, is becoming a national policy, justified primarily as an appropriate state response to the drunk driving problem. Section III analyzes the legitimacy of this claim.

III Rationales for Imposing Liability

Courts have relied on three distinct justifications for imposing dram shop liability on licensed establishments: punishment, victim compensation, and prevention of alcohol-related problems, particularly drunk driving. Current legal theories and practices call into question the underlying assumptions of all three rationales, suggesting the need for legal reform if dram shop liability is to become an effective social policy.

Punishment: As discussed above, early dram shop statutes were enacted in response to pressures from the temperance movement and focused on the "evils" of the saloon. Many pre-Prohibition court cases enforced even the most arbitrary provisions, relying on the punitive nature of the laws to justify their actions (see Note, 1973, for discussion and case citations). Modern courts avoid the penal justification of dram shop liability, reinterpreting the same statutory provisions to include most common law negligence elements of proof, denying double recovery for plaintiffs (from both the drinker and the server), and avoiding punitive damages unless exceptional circumstances exist. This reflects the modern rejection of the temperance ideology regarding the alcohol trade and an acceptance of both on- and off-sale premises as legitimate business enterprises, which provide a desired service to local communities.

Victim Compensation: As the "punishment" rationale for dram shop liability has faded, the "victim compensation" rationale has gained favor. Many courts state that the innocent injured party should not have to bear the brunt of the injury. Negligent licensees are viewed as appropriate compensators because they are in the business of selling alcohol. They have financial resources and have profited from the very sale that led to the injury. As stated by one court: "Businesses which sell liquor are usually in a more solid financial position than a (patron)" (McClellan v. Tottenhoff, supra at 415). Implicit in this argument is an assumption that commercial alcohol servers will have substantial liability insurance coverage. The argument also provides a basis for distinguishing commercial and noncommercial servers, despite statutory language that appears

to make no such distinction. Since social hosts do not profit from serving alcohol and do not have a commercial enterprise, they should not share the social costs to the same degree as licensees.

The need for a "deep pocket" (an alternative defendant with substantial financial resources) in drinking driving cases cannot be denied. Victims are frequently thwarted in their efforts to seek redress from drunk drivers. Drunk drivers often have very limited resources and are likely to have neither a driver's license nor liability insurance. Even if insurance does exist, the limits of the policy frequently cover only a fraction of the total claim. Thus, suing the commercial alcohol server may represent the only possible avenue for the victim to obtain full recovery.

Yet the need does not necessarily justify the remedy. First, the system for compensation is arbitrary. Only a small fraction of drunk driving victims are fortunate enough to have a viable law suit, which depends on whether there is adequate proof that the commercial server was negligent in serving the particular drunk driver. Frequently evidence is lacking - the licensee cannot be identified, or witnesses to the serving are not available. Many victims have no licensee to sue because the drunk driver either served him or herself, or was served in a private host setting. From a victim's perspective, compensation should not be dependent primarily on where the drunk driver obtained his or her alcohol. Second, dram shop liability is a cumbersome process for compensating victims. The law suits are complicated, taking long periods of time and requiring large sums of initial investment. Results can be very uncertain, and lawyer's and court fees can take a large percentage of any award that is forthcoming. Dram shop liability is as much a system for compensating attorneys as it is a system for compensating drunk driver victims. These barriers can discourage many victims with valid claims.

Thus, victim compensation is an inadequate rationale for maintaining dram shop liability as a social policy. If this is its sole purpose, a far more equitable, efficient, and less expensive system can be devised. A state could impose a tax on alcohol, for example, and distribute the proceeds to all drunk driver victims without regard to where the driver drank. The marginal increase in retail prices would be more than offset by the decrease in insurance costs and in the risk of law suits.

Prevention: Justifying dram shop liability as an effective and appropriate social policy therefore rests on the viability of the final rationale - prevention. Courts frequently cite the frequency and severity of drunk driving accidents as a reason to impose liability on licensees (e.g., Coulter v. Superior Court, 21 Cal.3d 144 (1978)), stating that the threat of a law suit will encourage licensees to intervene and prevent patrons from leaving the premises while intoxicated. As stated by the Wyoming Supreme Court:

> (I)t is reasonable to assume that the current state of the law places us all at more peril, because there is no effective deterrent to keep liquor vendors from selling liquor to minors or to intoxicated persons. Liquor licenses are seldom revoked. Perhaps the threat of civil liability or increased insurance premiums will serve to make liquor vendors more careful. (McClellan v. Tottenhoff, supra at 415)

The potential to reduce alcohol-related problems through licensee intervention does indeed exist. Research suggests that 50% of drunk drivers are travelling from licensed establishments, and they are often very seriously impaired (Mosher, 1983, for review). Many dram shop suits involve accidents which occur within a two-mile radius of the drinking establishment (Colman, 1984b; Peters, 1984). The focus on the server and the drinking environment represents a new approach to prevention, one which does not rely exclusively on shaping the behaviour of the individual. Recent research and policy reports have emphasized the need to develop new prevention strategies which address the drinking environment as well as the individual (see, e.g., Moore and Gerstein, 1981; Wallack et al., 1983).

Yet, despite this promise, courts have not provided any practical guidance to licensees for what is expected of them in order to fulfil their duty, at least in cases that do not involve underaged drinkers. The prevention rationale is often inserted as an afterthought, with no analysis of or attention to its ramifications. Instead, as noted above, courts assume that the "obvious intoxication" standard is adequate. Yet, in practice, servers have considerable difficulty in determining whether patrons are intoxicated (see, e.g., Langenbucher and Nathan, 1983), and after-the-fact review may discount the lack of "obvious signs" at the time the patron was served. Thus, the standard may be applied unfairly against the licensee at the time of trial.

Despite the courts' failure to define in sufficient detail the servers' responsibility, the recent surge of dram shop suits has prompted licensees to review their serving practices as part of a new prevention strategy - server intervention (Mosher, 1983). Server intervention relies on servers taking practical steps within the establishment to lessen the risk of intoxication occurring and to prevent patrons who do become intoxicated from driving. Training curricula for both servers (bartenders, cocktail waitresses) and managers/owners are being developed. Server training emphasizes learning to identify potential drunk driving and to cut off service when necessary. Manager/owner training focuses on employee practices, attention to marketing strategies which deemphasize alcohol sales, and changes in the drinking environment to encourage moderate rather than heavy drinking (for a detailed analysis of curricula materials, see Mosher, 1984). Server intervention also has a community action component, which includes attention to local zoning and planning powers related to the number and location of alcohol outlets, a topic beyond the scope of this paper. (For discussion, see Mosher, 1983, 1984.)

A recent meeting in Detroit provided an occasion to take the first steps in developing standardized curricula (Intermission, 1984). The meeting was attended by representatives of numerous on-sale associations and businesses (including military clubs), alcohol producers, highway safety and citizens' groups, educators and trainers, and researchers. The participants reached a consensus on several issues, most notably the topics to be covered in server training and the need to emphasize extensive role-playing sessions and other training techniques. An additional meeting to continue the process has been planned. Several commercial and governmental groups have already developed (or are in the process of developing) training courses, including the Michigan Licensed Beverage Association, S & A Restaurant Company, the National Restaurant Association, Howard Johnsons, and the California Department of Alcoholic Beverage

Control (see Mosher, 1984, for review). The fear of dram shop liability is frequently cited as a major reason for servers to reexamine their alcohol serving practices (Raffio, 1983a, 1983b; Peters, 1984).

Dram shop liability, then, has spurred some preventive activity among licensees. Three barriers remain, however. First, courts have not provided a potential defense to licensees who have instituted reasonable serving practices. Even the most careful licensee may inadvertently serve an intoxicated patron who may later be involved in a drunk driving accident. For dram shop liability to be an effective prevention tool, it must provide an incentive to licensees to adhere to responsible business practices. Courts therefore need to expand their inquiry beyond the obvious intoxication standard and to examine the server and manager practices of the defending licensee. Second, insurance companies have not based premiums on the licensee's serving practices. This also translates into a disincentive for licensees from taking practical prevention action, since insurance companies do not base their decisions to settle or to contest a dram shop law suit on the reasonableness of the licensee's action. Without rate incentives, the insurance system actually discourages preventive actions, contrary to several courts' assumptions (see McClellan v. Tottenhoff, supra; for further discussion of dram shop insurance, see Peters, 1984). Third, current server and manager training programs do not have a sufficient research base to draw from. Basic research is needed to identify the types of drinking establishments, types of drinkers, and the impact of differing drinking environments and serving practices. Programmatic research is needed to determine how best to transmit skills and to institute new policies. Evaluative research is needed to determine what changes in licensee practices and policies will actually serve to prevent alcohol-related problems (for further discussion, see Mosher, 1983, 1984).

Conclusion

Dram shop liability is one of the most rapidly changing areas of legal policy today. Citizens' groups and governmental agencies have identified it as an appropriate response to our society's drinking driving problem, and both legislatures and courts have responded by placing commercial servers of alcohol in increased jeopardy of being sued for the actions of their underaged and intoxicated patrons. The changes in legal policy, however, have not been carefully examined. Present legal practices undermine the stated intent of the law, and there is a paucity of research to assist licensees in meeting their perceived responsibility to the public. Courts are notably uninterested in examining the underlying problems that plague their decisions.

These difficulties can be viewed as a challenge. The legal system has a profound impact on social policy today, yet its practices and assumptions are seldom critically examined by social policymakers. Dram shop liability laws do have a potential for prompting a dramatic shift in alcohol retail practices to encompass health and safety concerns. That potential will be lost unless a coalition of diverse groups and professions work with the courts and legislatures toward a common goal -- the reduction of alcohol-related problems in our society.

TABLE 1

STATES WITH DRAM SHOP LIABILITY [1]

	STATUTORY DRAM SHOP LIABILITY				CASE LAW LICENSEE LIABILITY *	
State	Serving Intoxicated Person	Serving Minor	Serving Habitual Drunkard	Other Limits	Serving Intoxicated Person	Serving Minor
Alabama	yes 6-5-71	yes 6-5-70 6-5-71		only parent or guardian may bring suit under 6-5-70		
Alaska	yes (drunken) 04.21.020:2	yes, if no id 04.21.020:1		licensees only		
Arizona					Brannigan v. Raybuck 667 P.2d 213 (1983) negligence	Ontiveros v. Borak 667 P.2d 200 (1983) negligence
California		yes, if obviously intoxicated B&P 25602.1				
Colorado			yes, prior notice required 13-21-103			
Connecticut	yes 30-102			$50,000 limit, written notice within 60 days, 1 year S of L		
D.C.					Marusa v. Dist. of Columbia 484 F.2d 828 (1973) negligence	

* State Supreme Court Cases Only

[1] These charts are published with the permission of Matthew-Bender Co., Inc., and will appear in its forthcoming treatise, Liquor Liability Law.

TABLE 1. STATES WITH DRAM SHOP LIABILITY (continued)

	STATUTORY DRAM SHOP LIABILITY				CASE LAW LICENSEE LIABILITY*	
State	**Serving Intoxicated Person**	**Serving Minor**	**Serving Habitual Drunkard**	**Other Limits**	**Serving Intoxicated Person**	**Serving Minor**
Florida		yes, if willful and unlawful 768.125	yes, if knowingly 768.125			
Georgia		yes 51-1-18		only parent may bring cause of action		
Hawaii					Ono v. Applegate 612 P.2d 533 (1980) negligence per se	
Idaho						Alegria v. Payonk 619 P.2d 135 (1980) negligence
Illinois	yes 43-135		yes 43-135	$15,000 limit for injury; $20,000 limit loss of support, lessor also liable; 1 year S of L		
Indiana						Elder v. Fisher 217 N.E.2d 847 (1966) negligence per se
Iowa	yes 123.92 123.93			written notice to server in 6 months		Lewis v. State 256 N.W.2d 181 (1977) negligence per se

*State Supreme Court Cases Only

TABLE 1. STATES WITH DRAM SHOP LIABILITY (continued)

	STATUTORY DRAM SHOP LIABILITY				CASE LAW LICENSEE LIABILITY*	
State	**Serving Intoxicated Person**	**Serving Minor**	**Serving Habitual Drunkard**	**Other Limits**	**Serving Intoxicated Person**	**Serving Minor**
Maine	yes 2002	yes 2002		actual and exemplary damages, lessor also liable		
Massachusetts					Adamian v. Three Sons Inc. 233 N.E.2d 18 (1967) negligence per se	
Michigan	yes (visibly intoxicated) 436.22			min = $50, 2 yr S of L		
Minnesota	yes 340.95, 340.951			written notice within 120 days, 2 yr S of L		
Mississippi						Munford Inc v. Peterson 368 So.2d 213 (1979) negligence per se
New Jersey						Rappaport v. Nichols 156 A.2d 1 (1959) negligence per se
New Mexico	yes, if reasonably apparent 41-11-1	yes 41-11-1-E			Lopez v. Maez 651 P.2d 1269 (1982) negligence	MRC Prop. v. Gries 652 P.2d 732 (1982) negligence

*State Supreme Court Cases Only

TABLE 1. STATES WITH DRAM SHOP LIABILITY (continued)

	STATUTORY DRAM SHOP LIABILITY				CASE LAW LICENSEE LIABILITY*	
State	**Serving Intoxicated Person**	**Serving Minor**	**Serving Habitual Drunkard**	**Other Limits**	**Serving Intoxicated Person**	**Serving Minor**
New York	yes Gen Obl 11-101	yes Gen Obl 11-101			Berkeley v. Park 262 N.Y.S.2d 290 (1965) negligence	
North Carolina		yes, if driving negligently 18B-120 etc.		$500,000 limit to recovery		
North Dakota	yes 5-01-06	yes 5-01-06				
Ohio	yes, notice required 4399.01		yes, notice required 4399.01	owner and lessee liable	Mason v. Roberts 294 N.E.2d 884 (1973) negligence	
Oregon	yes (visibly intoxicated) 30.950				Campbell v. Carpenter 566 P.2d 893 (1977) negligence	
Pennsylvania	yes (visibly intoxicated) 47-4-497				Jardine v. Upper Darby Lodge 198 A.2d 550 (1964) negligence per se	
Rhode Island	yes 3-11-1	yes 3-11-1	yes, notice required 3-11-2			
South Dakota					Walz v. City of Hudson 372 N.W.2d 120 (1982) negligence per se	

*State Supreme Court Cases Only

TABLE 1. STATES WITH DRAM SHOP LIABILITY (continued)

	STATUTORY DRAM SHOP LIABILITY				CASE LAW LICENSEE LIABILITY*	
State	**Serving Intoxicated Person**	**Serving Minor**	**Serving Habitual Drunkard**	**Other Limits**	**Serving Intoxicated Person**	**Serving Minor**
Utah	yes 32-11-1	yes 32-11-1	yes 32-11-1	state immune from liability		
Vermont	yes 7-501	yes 7-501				
Washington						Young v. Caravan Corp 663 P.2d 834 (1983) negligence per se
Wisconsin						Sorenson v. Jarvis 350 N.W.2d 108 (1984) negligence per se
Wyoming		yes 12-5-502	yes 12-5-502	written notice required		McClellan v. Tottenhoff 666 P.2d 408 (1983) negligence

*State Supreme Court Cases Only

TABLE 2

STATES WITHOUT ESTABLISHED DRAM SHOP LIABILITY

	CASE LAW DENYING LIABILITY		LOWER COURTS ALLOWING LIABILITY		NO APPELLATE CASES DECIDING ISSUE
State	**State Supreme Court Decisions Against**	**State Lower Court Decisions Against**	**Serving Intoxicated Persons**	**Serving Minor**	
Arkansas	Carr v. Turner 385 SW2d 656 (1965) no negligence per se/ intoxicated person				
Delaware	Wright v. Moffitt 437 A2d 554 (1981) no negligence or negli- gence per se/ intoxicated person				
Kansas					no cases
Kentucky				Pike v. George 434 SW2d 626 (1968) negligence per se	
Louisiana				Chausse v. Southland 400 So2d 1199 (1981) negligence	
Maryland	Felder v. Butler 438 A2d 494 (1981) no negligence intoxicated person				
Missouri			Carver v. Schafer 647 SW2d 570 (1983) negligence	Sampson v. W.F. Enterprises 611 SW2d 333 (1981) negligence per se	

TABLE 2. STATES WITHOUT ESTABLISHED DRAM SHOP LIABILITY (continued)

State	CASE LAW DENYING LIABILITY		LOWER COURTS ALLOWING LIABILITY		NO APPELLATE CASES DECIDING ISSUE
	State Supreme Court Decisions Against	**State Lower Court Decisions Against**	**Serving Intoxicated Persons**	**Serving Minor**	
Montana	Runge v. Watts 589 P2d 145 (1979) no negligence for social host/ intoxicated person				
Nebraska	Holmes v. Circo 244 NW2d 65 (1976) no negligence per se/ intoxicated person				
Nevada	Hamm v. Carson City Nugget 450 P2d 358 (1969) no negligence per se/ intoxicated person Yoscovitch v. Wasson 645 P2d 975 (1982) no negligence per se/minor				
New Hampshire					not clear; see Burns v. Bradley 419 A2d 1069 (1980)
Oklahoma					no cases
South Carolina					no cases
Tennessee			Mitchell v. Ketner 393 SW2d 755 (1964) negligence per se		

TABLE 2. STATES WITHOUT ESTABLISHED DRAM SHOP LIABILITY (continued)

State	CASE LAW DENYING LIABILITY		LOWER COURTS ALLOWING LIABILITY		NO APPELLATE CASES DECIDING ISSUE
	State Supreme Court Decisions Against	**State Lower Court Decisions Against**	**Serving Intoxicated Persons**	**Serving Minor**	
Texas					no cases
Virginia					no cases
West Virginia					no cases

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ONE FOR THE ROAD: A TAVERN OWNER'S LIABILITY AS A PROVIDER OF ALCOHOL

Robert Solomon,* Barbara Boake* and Mary Lynn Gleason*

Section I: Introduction

Less than fifteen minutes after finishing his last beer and leaving the Arlington House Hotel, Clayton Sharpe failed to negotiate a curve in the road. His car plunged over a steep embankment, rolled over repeatedly, and came to rest 124 meters away. Sharpe suffered only minor injuries, but his passenger, 16-year-old Andreas Schmidt, was critically injured. Although he survived, Schmidt was rendered a quadriplegic.[1]

Schmidt and his family sued not only Sharpe, but also the Arlington House Hotel for $13,000,000. After a lengthy trial, judgment was awarded against both defendants for over $1,390,000. Taking into account pre- and post-judgment interest, legal fees and court costs, this mishap may have cost the defendants and their insurers more than $1,750,000.[2]

The basis of Sharpe's liability is straightforward - he was driving while impaired and his negligence caused the plaintiff's injuries. The claim against the Arlington House Hotel is more complex. The hotel was sued as a provider of alcohol for breaching its obligation to control the conduct of one of its intoxicated patrons. The hotel employees' act of serving Sharpe, who was underage, past the point of intoxication gave rise to an obligation to control his conduct, both on and off the premises.[3]

As disconcerting as it may be to Canadian tavern owners and their insurers, the Schmidt case cannot be written off as a legal aberration. The clear trend in the law is towards the expansion of liability for all those who sell or supply alcohol to others.[4] Given the grassroots campaigns against drinking and driving,[5] tavern owners cannot expect the provinces to enact legislation to protect them. The prevailing legal and political environment[6] suggests that those who provide alcohol to others will have to live with the Schmidt case.

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* Faculty of Law, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the scope of a tavern owner's liability* and its implications for the Canadian hospitality industry. In the second section, we examine the social, technological and legal factors that have made cases like Schmidt possible. The third and fourth sections contain a detailed analysis of tavern owners' common law and statutory obligations to control the conduct of their patrons. In the conclusion, we discuss the implications of our analysis for the hospitality industry.

Section II: The Origins of Tavern Owners' Liability

Despite the conventional wisdom about the law not requiring you to be your brother's keeper, cases such as Schmidt should not have come as much of a surprise. During the past 25 years, there has been a dramatic increase in the number and kinds of situations in which one individual has been held civilly liable for failing to control the conduct of others.[7] It was inevitable that such a duty would be imposed on tavern owners, given the intoxicating effects of alcohol and the fact that it is a provincial offence to serve someone who is intoxicated or to provide someone with alcohol past the point of intoxication.[8]

Nevertheless, the emergence of cases like Schmidt cannot be explained solely in terms of changes in the legal duties of tavern owners. Rather, this line of cases appears to be the product of three sets of factors, only some of which relate to tort law. Together these factors have created the circumstances in which it is possible and worthwhile to sue providers of alcohol, and not just their intoxicated patrons.

(a) Factors Affecting the Plaintiff's Potential Recovery

The factors discussed in this subsection have contributed to substantial increases in the size of personal injury awards and the plaintiff's prospects for recovery. These factors include advances in medical care, changes in the legal principles governing the assessment of damages and the narrowing of the defence of voluntary assumption of risk. As damage awards have increased in amount, so have the plaintiff's incentives to sue providers of alcohol.

Twenty-five years ago, Schmidt might not have survived the crash. In such a case, his family would have been awarded several thousand dollars and burial costs[9] - an amount well within Sharpe's automobile insurance. With recent advances in medical care, badly-injured accident victims are surviving, and many have close to normal life expectancies. Consequently, some young accident victims now must seek compensation for 40 years of lost earnings and 50 years of around-the-clock medical attention.[10] In most cases, these claims will greatly exceed the intoxicated defendant's insurance coverage and assets. In order to have any realistic hope of recovering such large awards, the plaintiff must sue the tavern owner.

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* Although our discussion is framed in terms of taverns, it applies equally to any licensed establishment, such as a bar, nightclub, and licensed restaurant, snack bar and theatre.

Until the late 1970s, the Canadian courts had used a "global approach" in assessing damages, which involved selecting a single figure to compensate the plaintiff for all of his or her injuries.[11] Generally, this approach resulted in extremely low damage awards.[12] For example, in the 1968 case of Land et al. v. Ryan et al., the 21-year-old male plaintiff was awarded a global sum of only $110,000, even though he was rendered a paraplegic, would never be able to work and would require medical and nursing care on a daily basis for the rest of his life.[13] This sum was also intended to compensate him for his pain and suffering and for his loss of enjoyment of life's pleasures.

The Supreme Court of Canada fundamentally changed the method of assessing damages in the late 1970s,[14] when it rejected the global approach. Instead, it called for the separate assessment of each aspect of the plaintiff's losses, based on the best available evidence. For the first time, the courts were required to carefully consider the full financial implications of the plaintiff's injuries.[15] In addition to rationalizing the assessment of damages, this change lead to sharp increases in the size of damage awards.[16]

The Canadian courts have also improved the plaintiff's prospects for recovery by limiting the defence of voluntary assumption of risk. This defence is based on the idea "that the plaintiff, by agreeing to assume the risk himself, absolved the defendant from responsibility for it."[17] In the Schmidt case, the plaintiff and defendant spent 90 minutes drinking in the Arlington House Hotel before the accident. Schmidt knew, or should have known, that Sharpe was impaired, particularly after he backed into a telephone pole on leaving the hotel parking lot. Nevertheless, Schmidt agreed to take a ride with Sharpe.[18] Based on the traditional analysis of this defence, it could be implied from Schmidt's conduct that he had voluntarily assumed the risks of Sharpe's driving. Consequently, he should be denied recovery.[19]

However, the Canadian courts have become increasingly reluctant to infer that a plaintiff voluntarily assumed the risk, particularly in cases involving impaired drivers and their injured passengers.[20] As in the Schmidt case, this defence will usually fail unless there is an express agreement between the parties.[21] The courts have redefined the defence in very narrow terms and by doing so they have improved the plaintiff's chances of succeeding.[22]

(b) Factors Affecting Proof of the Tavern Owner's Liability

The first mandatory breath test provisions came into force in 1970. The Criminal Code of Canada provides that a police officer may demand that a driver submit to a breath test in certain situations.[23] Failure to comply with this demand constitutes a criminal offence, unless the driver can establish a "reasonable excuse" for not complying.[24] These provisions, coupled with our increased understanding of the effects of alcohol consumption, have provided plaintiffs with a factual basis for proving a tavern owner's negligence.

To succeed against the tavern, Schmidt had to establish that the tavern's staff knew or ought to have known that Sharpe was intoxicated when they served him or would become intoxicated.[25] Had there been no police breathalyzer readings, the staff could have argued that Sharpe was sober when he was served.[26] The availability of Sharpe's breathalyzer results permitted Schmidt to

call expert witnesses to testify as to the quantity of alcohol Sharpe had consumed. Based on the breathalyzer results and their knowledge of the effects of alcohol, both experts testified that properly trained tavern employees should have recognized some evidence of Sharpe's intoxication at the time he was served.[27] In the absence of this kind of testimony, it is questionable whether Schmidt could have established his case against the tavern.

(c) The Expansion of the Duties of Affirmative Action

The recent emergence of the tavern owner's liability issue is also the result of the increasing scope of the duty to control the conduct of others.[28] In turn, this change in the duty to control is part of a general trend towards expanding liability for all of the duties of affirmative action.[29] The apparent novelty of the Schmidt case stems from the piecemeal fashion in which this entire branch of tort law evolved.

One of the most basic distinctions drawn in tort law was between injuries caused by positive acts and those caused by failures to act.[30] While liability was imposed at one time for positively caused injuries even in the absence of fault, there was no liability for injuries caused by failures to act. With few exceptions, the law merely required an individual to refrain from interfering with other people's rights. Thus, an individual who innocently entered his neighbour's land believing it to be his own was held liable,[31] but an individual who sat idly by and watched a child drown within arm's reach was immune from liability.[32] This attitude reflected the law's concern with protecting individual autonomy.

Despite marked changes in public attitudes, the law has preserved the general rule that an individual is not required to act for the benefit of others. However, the courts have greatly expanded the number and kinds of special relationships and situations in which they will recognize a specific duty to act.[33] Indeed, in some areas the exceptions are so numerous as to call into question the value of the general rule.[34]

Usually, an individual is not required to control the conduct of another person. However, as the Schmidt case illustrates, the courts have recognized exceptions to this principle. Most of the cases involve parents, teachers and others who are responsible for supervising children. These individuals are required to control a child's conduct, not only to protect the child, but also to protect anyone foreseeably endangered by the child.[35] For example, in Prasad v. Prasad et al., the plaintiff was stabbed in the back when he sat down on a couch in which the defendant's child had hidden a knife.[36] The defendant was held liable because he was aware of his child's propensity to play with knives, but failed to take reasonable precautions.

In 1978, the Supreme Court of Canada held that an ice cream vendor was also required to control the conduct of children who were attracted to his vehicle.[37] In this case, a young girl was severely injured when she ran into the path of a car after purchasing an ice cream. In imposing liability on the ice cream vendor, Mr. Justice Zuber in the Ontario Court of Appeal stated: "A pied piper cannot plead his inability to take care of his followers when it was he who played the flute."[38]

The duty to control now extends well beyond situations involving children. In recent years, those supervising prisoners and the mentally-ill have been held liable for failing to take reasonable steps to ensure that their wards do not injure themselves, each other or members of the public.[39] The courts have even held that a driver who leaves the keys in the ignition may be held liable for the damages caused by thieves and mischief-makers who take the vehicle.[40] In Good-Wear Tire Treaders v. D.B. Holdings Ltd., the court held that the defendant supplier should not have sold retreaded tires to a customer who he knew would ignore his warnings and put them to an unsafe use. When one tire blew out causing a serious accident, both the customer and supplier were held liable in damages.[41]

The clear trend is in the direction of expanding all of the duties of affirmative action, including the duty to control the conduct of others. Although it will not provide them with much solace, tavern owners are not alone in being held responsible for the conduct of others.

Section III: A Tavern Owner's Common Law Obligation as a Provider of Alcohol

As an occupier, tavern owners have long been required to control the conduct of their patrons, but their liability in this capacity is limited to injuries that occur on or in relation to the premises.[42] It was not until the 1973 case of Jordan House Ltd. v. Menow and Honsberger that a tavern owner was held liable as a provider of alcohol for failing to control his intoxicated patrons. Although the courts have not always clearly distinguished between these two bases of liability, we have limited our analysis to a tavern owner's liability as a provider.

In Jordan House, the Supreme Court of Canada recognized that a tavern owner had a common law duty to protect intoxicated patrons from injuries that they might suffer on and off the premises. Speaking for the majority, Mr. Justice Laskin attempted to restrict this duty. He made a point of quoting the trial judge to the effect that he was not imposing "a duty on every tavern owner to act as a watchdog for all patrons who enter his place of business and drink to excess".[44] However, within ten years, this cautious approach appears to have given way to a broad duty of care.

(a) Jordan House Ltd. v. Menow and Honsberger

Menow, a regular patron of the defendant's hotel, tended to become "annoying and reckless" when intoxicated. As a result, he had been banned in the past from entering the hotel. Even after the ban was lifted, the hotel employees were instructed not to serve Menow unless he was accompanied by a responsible person. On the night of the accident, Menow arrived with two other individuals, who left early. From 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. Menow drank alone, consuming large quantities of alcohol and becoming visibly intoxicated. As was his habit when intoxicated, Menow decided to "mingle". His socializing was not well received by the other patrons, and Menow was ejected by the hotel employees. They knew that Menow was intoxicated and that he would have to walk home late at night along a busy highway.

After leaving the hotel, Menow was picked up by an unidentified driver and given a ride part way home. While continuing on foot, Menow staggered onto the highway and was hit by a car. Menow brought action against both the driver of the car and the hotel. His claim against the hotel was based on its obligation to take reasonable care to protect him from personal injury.

The Supreme Court of Canada unanimously upheld this claim. Mr. Justice Laskin emphasized the invitor-invitee relationship between Menow and the hotel, Menow's obvious state of intoxication, and the hotel employees' knowledge of Menow's recklessness when intoxicated and the difficulties he would face in attempting to get home unassisted. In light of these considerations, Laskin, J. concluded that the hotel's staff should have taken steps to protect Menow, by allowing him to spend the night in one of their rooms, calling the police or Menow's employer to take care of him, or arranging to have him taken home by taxicab or by one of the other patrons.[45] As indicated, Laskin, J. was not imposing a general duty on all tavern owners to act as a "watchdog" for every intoxicated patron. Rather, he based the hotel's liability on its special relationship with and knowledge of Menow.[46]

While concurring in the result, Mr. Justice Ritchie suggested a different basis for imposing liability on the hotel. The hotel's staff were aware of Menow's inability to handle alcohol and yet they served him past the point of intoxication. In Ritchie, J.'s view, the hotel's staff breached their duty once they served Menow past the point of intoxication, which occurred long before he was ejected from the hotel.[47]

In response, the hotel and driver raised the defences of voluntary assumption of risk and contributory negligence. Without referring to any authority, Mr. Justice Laskin rejected the first defence on the basis that Menow was too intoxicated to appreciate the risks of his behaviour or to accept legal responsibility for it. Laskin, J. did uphold the trial judge's finding that Menow was contributorily negligent in drinking to excess. In the end result, Menow was found one-third at fault and his damage award was reduced accordingly.[48]

This case generated considerable academic comment, the bulk of which was directed at inconsistencies and other weaknesses in Mr. Justice Laskin's judgment.[49] Several authors questioned his cursory rejection of the defence of voluntary assumption of risk and his imprecise definition of the tavern owner's liability.[50] However, the sharpest criticism was reserved for Laskin, J.'s narrow definition of the tavern owner's duty.[51]

(b) Crocker v. Sundance Northwest Resorts Ltd.[52]

On the night before the accident, Crocker and a friend spent the evening in the bar of the resort drinking heavily and socializing. They decided to enter the tube racing contest that was to be held the next day, paid the entry fee and signed an entry form which contained a clause exempting the resort from liability for any injuries that occurred. The tube racing contest involved two-person teams riding a large inner tube down a mogulled ski hill. The resort showed films from a previous contest, which clearly illustrated the dangers of tube racing. Crocker testified that he did not know the entry form contained a waiver of liability and that he could not see much of the film because of the way he was sitting.

On the morning of the accident, Crocker consumed a large quantity of rye "for breakfast" before arriving at the resort. He continued to drink some of the rye and cola mixture that he brought, as well as several drinks that he purchased at the resort's bar. After winning the first heat of the tube race, Crocker was given more alcohol by the driver of a Molson's van. In Crocker's words, "I can hardly remember going back up the hill."[53] When Crocker fell at the top of the hill, an employee of the resort warned him that he was in no condition to participate. Undaunted, Crocker informed the employee in graphic terms that he was going to race. During this race, Crocker was thrown from the inner tube and broke his neck. As a result, Crocker was rendered a quadriplegic. Due to his injuries and complications, Crocker's life expectancy at the time of trial was two years.

Crocker sued the resort claiming that it had failed to warn him of the risks of serious injury posed by tube racing. The court specifically stated that the resort breached this duty to warn, but then discussed the resort's obligation to control Crocker's conduct because he was intoxicated.[54] In reference to this duty, the court noted: "While there may once have been doubt about there being a duty to save a man from the consequences of his own want of care, that doubt was removed by the Supreme Court of Canada in Jordan House Ltd. v. Menow et al."[55] Despite Crocker's hostility, the judge stated that the resort should have stopped him from participating in the second race, even if it meant calling in the provincial police to physically remove him.[56]

The resort raised the defence of voluntary assumption of risk, based on the exemption clause in the entry form. Since Crocker was unaware of the clause when he signed the form, the judge concluded that the defence failed. Crocker was found to have been contributorily negligent, but only to the extent of 25%. The judge held the resort 75% at fault because it organized these races for its financial benefit and continued to sponsor them over a period of time despite their obvious risks.[57]

Unlike Laskin, J. in Jordan House, the judge in Crocker appeared to base the defendant's liability on a general duty to protect intoxicated patrons. The resort had supplied Crocker with relatively little alcohol. It was Crocker's breakfast of rye and the generosity of the driver of the Molson's van that were primarily responsible for his intoxication. The staff of the resort had virtually no prior dealing with Crocker and when they served him they had no knowledge of his recklessness when intoxicated.

It is also important to note that Crocker was not the kind of plaintiff who would endear himself to the court. His irresponsibility on the evening prior to the accident, his breakfast of rye, and his vulgar and aggressive demand to participate in the second race hardly inspire sympathy. Equally telling are the facts about Crocker's life that came out in assessing damages. At the time of the accident, Crocker was collecting sick benefits because he had lied to his employer about undergoing a hernia operation. He had a string of short-lived jobs and he was less than forthright in testifying under oath about how he had lost them. He supported neither his first wife and first child, nor his second wife and second child.[58]

The fact that the court recognized a duty on the resort in the circumstances, that the defence of voluntary assumption of risk failed given Crocker's

conduct, and that Crocker was found only 25% at fault does not augur well for tavern owners.

Section IV: A Tavern Owner's Statutory Obligation as a Provider of Alcohol

In the preceding section, we examined the tavern owner's common law duty to control the conduct of his intoxicated patrons - a general duty that applies in all of the common law jurisdictions of the country. In this section, we will be discussing the provincial and territorial legislation which creates a statutory cause of action against a tavern owner. Before turning to the details of this legislation, several general comments should be made about these provisions.

First, Manitoba, Ontario and the Northwest Territories are the only jurisdictions which have enacted a statutory cause of action against providers of alcohol.[59] This is in sharp contrast to the situation in the United States, where 46% of the States have passed such legislation and only 36% recognize a common law cause of action.[60] Secondly, the roots of the current legislation can be traced back more than 100 years in each province.[61] The strong temperance movement of the last century may well have been a factor in the enactment of the original provisions. Thirdly, the legislation in both provinces and the Northwest Territories is narrow in scope, creating a statutory cause of action in strictly defined circumstances for a limited class of plaintiffs. Finally, the legislation has rarely been invoked. There does not appear to be a reported case in Manitoba or the Northwest Territories and only a handful of cases in Ontario.

(a) The Provincial Statutory Causes of Action

The Manitoba legislation is so narrowly defined that it is of questionable value to any plaintiff. The Act restricts liability to situations in which an intoxicated individual commits suicide, drowns or perishes in some other accident caused by his or her intoxication. The person who provided the alcohol or on whose premises it was obtained are liable for the death of the intoxicated patron, but not for any injuries or damages caused to third parties. Finally, the damages are limited to between $100 and $1,500.[62] Since the common law permits recovery in broader circumstances and does not limit damages, it is difficult to imagine a situation in which the legislation would be invoked.

The Ontario provision creates a cause of action not only in cases in which the intoxicated patron dies, but also in cases in which the patron injures a third party. An intoxicated patron who is merely injured, such as Menow and Crocker, has no statutory claim against the tavern owner. Unlike the Manitoba legislation, the Ontario provision restricts liability to sellers of alcohol. As the damage award in the Schmidt case illustrates, the Ontario legislation does not limit damages.[63]

The Ontario statute defines the seller's obligation in complex terms. An individual can be held liable under the statute for selling "liquor to or for a person whose condition is such that the consumption would apparently intoxicate him or increase his intoxication so that he would be in danger of causing injury to his person or injury or damage to the person or property of others."[64] This action does not arise simply because a patron is served alcohol past the point of

intoxication. The language suggests that the patron must be served sufficient alcohol to make him visibly intoxicated or intoxicated to the point that he is a danger to himself or others.

The Northwest Territories has enacted a statutory cause of action which is similar to the Ontario provision.[65] First, both sections are structured in the same manner and their wording is almost identical. Secondly, both enactments limit liability to cases where the intoxicated patron injures a third person, or dies by suicide or accidental means. Thirdly, neither provision restricts the size of damage awards.

Despite these similarities, the Northwest Territories legislation is considerably narrower than its Ontario counterpart. Pursuant to section 64(1) of the Northwest Territories Liquor Ordinance, licensees can only be held liable if they "knowingly" sell alcohol to an "intoxicated" patron.[66] This provision is restricted to licensed sellers of alcohol, whereas the Ontario provision applies to any seller whether licensed or not. More important, section 64(1) requires the plaintiff to prove that the licensee actually knew the patron was already intoxicated at the time he or she was served.

(b) The Ontario Caselaw

Of the handful of reported cases decided under the Ontario statute, only the two most recent provide any helpful discussion of the statutory duty. The earliest reported case[67] was based on the 1887 statute,[68] which is different from the current law. The second reported case dealt exclusively with issues of pleadings.[69] The judge in the third case concluded that the defendant hotel had not served the patron past the point of intoxication.[70] However, he went on to state that even if the patron had been served past the point of intoxication, the hotel staff could only be held liable if they knew the patron would drive home. "I cannot think that it was intended to impose a duty on the owner of a hotel to ascertain his customer's means of locomotion. The person selling the intoxicants must have notice that the customer will drive a motor vehicle from the premises..."[71] The judge offered no explanation for his unusual interpretation, and this issue was not raised in the appeal[72] or referred to in the modern caselaw.

(i) Picka et al. v. Porter and The Royal Canadian Legion[73]

Porter drove through a stop sign and crashed into the side of the Picka's stationwagon, killing three of its occupants and injuring two others. It was established that Porter consumed between 9 and 11 1/2 bottles of beer at the Legion over a period of at least five hours. The beer was served from behind a bar in circumstances in which the bartender had no opportunity to observe the patrons' condition or determine exactly how much any patron had drunk.

The plaintiffs argued that the Legion was liable because it supplied Porter with beer until he became intoxicated and then "allowed him to go forth from the Legion premises to the risk of all in his path."[74] The Legion contended that since Porter's condition was not apparent to any of its employees, it could not be held liable under the statute or at common law.[75] Although the Court of Appeal held that the Legion breached both duties, its analysis sheds little light on either.

As a result of difficulties with the judge's instructions to the jury, the Court of Appeal concluded that the case had to be based on common law principles. Somewhat surprisingly, the Court of Appeal accepted the Legion's submission that the common law and statutory duties were the same. It then defined the common law duty solely in terms of the language of the statute. The court failed to address the defendant's contention that Porter's condition was not apparent to its bartender. Rather, the court found that there was sufficient evidence to support the jury's conclusion that the Legion was negligent.[76] Speaking for the court, Mr. Justice Zuber stated:

> In my respectful view, it is implicit in the answers given that the jury found that Porter was supplied with sufficient beer to render him apparently and visibly intoxicated and a danger to others. It is apparent that the jury is saying that the Royal Legion failed in its duty by making no effort to see Mr. Porter's condition and by having a system of distributing the beer which made seeing the condition of Porter extremely difficult.[77]

Given the evidence, it is difficult to quarrel with the results in Picka.[78] Nevertheless, the Court of Appeal should have clarified the meaning of the statutory duty and explained its relationship to the common law duty.

(ii) Schmidt v. Sharpe et al.[79]

Like Picka, the Schmidt case provides general support for the expansion of tavern owners' common law and statutory duties, but without clearly defining them. Many of the plaintiff's allegations of negligence against the Arlington House Hotel appear to be based on a tavern owner's common law duty. For example, a great deal is made of the fact that both Schmidt and Sharpe were under-age and yet were served several beers without being challenged or asked to show identification. There was a hint that such conduct alone may constitute a breach of a tavern owner's common law duty, but this issue formed no part of the decision.[80] The plaintiff's expert witnesses did not testify that Sharpe was visibly or apparently intoxicated. Rather, they stated that properly trained hotel employees should have been able to recognize some evidence of Sharpe's intoxication at the time he was served.[81] This testimony supports a breach of the common law duty, not the statutory duty. Nevertheless, the issue of liability was put to the jury framed in terms of a breach of the statutory duty, and it was on this basis that the hotel was found liable.

The Schmidt case raises questions which it does not resolve. For example, the finding that the hotel breached its statutory duty suggests that the courts will not demand strict proof that a patron was visibly intoxicated when served. After a detailed discussion of the defence of voluntary assumption of risk, the judge mentioned in passing that it is unavailable to a defendant who breaches a statute.[82] The result in Schmidt appears to be a significant extension of the common law, and yet no reference is made to Jordan House, Crocker, Picka or any other case involving a tavern owner's common law duty. As one commentator aptly stated: "it is unfortunate, as a practical matter that this case was decided by a jury, as no serious discussion of the basis for the hotel's liability appears in the reasons."[83]

There have been at least two other successful claims brought against tavern owners for failing to control the conduct of their intoxicated patrons.[84] Since both cases were settled out of court, they provide no assistance in defining a tavern owner's common law or statutory duty.

Section V: Conclusion

Canadian tavern owners and their insurers have little reason for optimism about the future course of their liability. As disconcerting as the Schmidt case is, it is simply the beginning of the bad news. There is every reason to believe that a tavern owner's liability will be extended, the size of the damage awards will increase and the number of claims will rise dramatically.

Despite their recent vintage and less than compelling analysis, the tavern owner liability cases are rooted squarely in the general expansion of the duties of affirmative action. The recent caselaw suggests that this broad trend to extend the scope of liability is accelerating.[85] In all probability, this will fuel further expansions of a tavern owner's duty. For example, the Canadian courts might conclude - as some American courts have[86] - that tavern owners have a common law duty not to serve underage drinkers.

As explained earlier, several factors have led to sharp increases in the size of damage awards in all areas of tort law.[87] This trend in the size of damage awards is perhaps best illustrated by the two precedent-setting judgments handed down in the first nine months of 1984. In March, the Quebec Supreme Court awarded a 15-year-old girl, who had been rendered a quadriplegic in a toboggan accident, 2.8 million dollars.[89] In September, seven members of a single family were awarded 3.1 million dollars by the Ontario Supreme Court for the injuries and losses they suffered in a car accident caused by a drunk driver.[90]

There have been few reported tavern owner liability cases. Perhaps the insurance companies have settled these kinds of claims in an effort to avoid publicity. Even so, the actions brought to date must represent only a small fraction of the potential suits. In Ontario alone, alcohol is involved in two deaths and 81 vehicle crashes each day.[91] One analyst has reported that alcohol may have played a causal role in 50% of the 4,980 fatal car accidents and in 25% of the 173,480 personal injury accidents that occurred in Canada in 1979.[92] Alcohol also plays a significant role in the deaths and injuries caused by falls, drownings, fires, other accidents, assaults, and suicide attempts. Given that approximately 17% of the alcohol consumed in Canada is sold through licensed establishments,[93] there must be thousands of tavern owner liability cases that could be initiated and won each year. We cannot predict whether there will be a flood of cases in Canada, as there has been in the United States.[94] Nevertheless, it is reasonable to anticipate a dramatic increase in the number of claims.

Every time tavern owners or their staff serve a patron alcohol past the point of intoxication, they are exposing themselves to a possible suit. In order to avoid liability, Canadian taverns will have to introduce far more rigorous serving practices. This will cost money in terms of training, increased staffing costs and reduced sales. Tavern owners who ignore the Schmidt case and its implications may maintain their profits, but only at the risk of financial ruin in a civil action.

Endnotes

[1]Schmidt v. Sharpe et al. (1983), 27 C.C.L.T. 1 (Ont. S.C.). As a result of the accident, Schmidt was permanently paralyzed from the chest down and could not move without assistance. He had only limited power in his arms and no control over his bladder or bowels. He would require around-the-clock personal attendants for the rest of his life. It was doubtful whether he would be able to get even limited employment. For a complete discussion of his injuries and their impact see, pp. 21-43.

[2]Ibid., pp. 47-48.

[3]Ibid., pp. 7-8. The plaintiff made 10 separate allegations of negligence against the hotel, most of which overlapped. As we shall later discuss, it is difficult to define the exact basis upon which the hotel was found liable.

[4]For a review of the American developments in this field see C. Hagglund and L. Arthur Jr., "Common Law Liquor Liability" (1971-72), 7 The Forum 73; D. Dooley and J. Mosher, "Alcohol and Legal Negligence" (1978), 7 Contemporary Drug Problems 145; N. Luckman, "Liquor Liability--Commercial Vendors and Social Hosts" (1979), 53 Conn. B.J. 132; K. Graham, "Liability of the Social Host for Injuries Caused by the Negligent Acts of Intoxicated Guests" (1980), 16 Willamette L.J. 561; C. Smith, "Social Host Liability for Injuries Caused by the Acts of an Intoxicated Guest" (1983), 59 N. Dakota L.R. 445; M. Morrison and G. Woods, "An Examination of the Duty Concept: Has It Evolved in Ofis Engineering v. Clark" (1984), 36 Baylor L. Rev. 375; and J. Mosher, "Liability Of Licenced Alcoholic Beverage Establishments: Recent Developments in the United States" (1984), paper presented at Public Drinking and Public Policy: A Symposium on Observational Studies. April 26-28, 1984. Banff, Alberta.

For a discussion of these issues in Canada see Jordan House Ltd. v. Menow and Honsberger (1973), 38 D.L.R. (3d) 105 (S.C.C.); Picka et al. v. Porter and The Royal Canadian Legion (1980), unreported (Ont. C.A.); Crocker v. Sundance Northwest Resorts Ltd. (1983), 43 O.R. (2d) 143 (Ont. H.C.); and Schmidt v. Sharpe et al. (1983), 27 C.C.L.T. 1 (Ont. S.C.).

[5]Citizens' groups, founded for the specific purpose of reducing the incidence of drinking and driving have sprung up in both Canada and the United States. These groups have become a powerful public lobby for more restrictive drinking and driving laws, and stricter enforcement, prosecution and sentencing. The most prominent groups include: People to Reduce Impaired Driving Everywhere (P.R.I.D.E.); Mothers Against Drunk Drivers (M.A.D.D.); and Citizens Against Impaired Driving (C.A.I.D.).

[6]The clear trend in Canada is towards strengthening the drinking and driving laws. In the spring of 1984, the federal government introduced a bill containing several new drinking and driving offences, broad police powers and increased maximum penalties for many drinking and driving offences. See Bill C.-19, Criminal Law Reform Act, 1984, 2nd Sess., 32nd Parliament, 1983-84, Clause 50-52. Although Bill C.-19 died on the order paper, it reflects the most probable course of federal initiatives in the near future. Indeed, the new Federal government announced that it would attempt to enact a very similar package of drinking and driving proposals before the end of 1984.

Several provinces have also enacted legislation to reduce drinking and driving. For example, the Ontario government has enacted a 12-hour licence suspension, authorized police to stop vehicles at random to determine if drivers are intoxicated, and dramatically increased the penalties for driving with a suspended licence. See Highway Traffic Act, R.S.O. 1980, C. 198, ss. 30a., and 35. The Ontario Attorney-General has recently issued stricter guidelines for prosecuting drinking and driving cases. S. Brunt, "Jail drunk drivers on second offence, McMurtry orders", Globe and Mail, September 20, 1984, p. 1.

[7] For a review of this branch of tort law see J. Ames, "Law and Morals" (1908), 22 Harv. L. Rev. 97; F. Harper and P. Kime, "The Duty to Control the Conduct of Another" (1934), 43 Yale L. J. 886; The American Law Institute, Restatement of the Law, Second, Torts (1965), paras, 315-320; J. Little, "Erosion of No-Duty Negligence Rules in England, The United States, and Common Law Commonwealth Nations" (1983), 20 Houston L. Rev. 959; G. Sharpe, "Hospital Responsibility for Acts of Patients" (1976), 24 Chitty's L. J. 140; J. Barnes, "Tort Liability of School Boards to Pupils", in L. Klar (ed.), Studies in Canadian Tort Law (1977), 189; and "Police Liability for Negligent Failure to Prevent Crime" (1981),94 Harv. L. Rev. 821.

[8] All of the provinces have prohibited the sale of alcohol to intoxicated or apparently intoxicated persons. See for example, Liquor Licence Act, R.S.O. 1980, C. 244, s. 43.

[9] Traditionally, the provincial fatal accidents legislation limited a defendant's liability to the economic losses caused by the deceased's death. As a result, damage awards were very small in cases involving the death of a child or other person who had no dependents. For example, in Fenn et al. v. The City of Peterborough et al. (1979), 25 O.R. (2d) 399 (Ont. C.A.), the plaintiff parents were awarded $5,000 for the death of three of their children.

[10] For example, in Arnold et al. v. Teno et al. (1978), 83 D.L.R. (3d) 609 (S.C.C.), the plaintiff, who was 4 1/2 at the time of the accident, suffered serious brain damage and crippling physical injuries. Nevertheless, she still had a post-accident life expectancy of 66.9 years. The defendant was required to compensate her for loss of earnings based on a work expectancy of 45 years and for medical and care costs based on a life expectancy of 66.9 years. See also Thorton et al. v. Board of School Trustees Of School District No. 57 (Prince George) et al. (1978), 83 D.L.R. (3d) 480 (S.C.C.); and Andrews et al. v. Grand & Toy Alberta Ltd. et al. (1978), 83 D.L.R. (3d) 452 (S.C.C.).

[11] In using the global approach, the court usually described the plaintiff's injuries, listed the relevant heads of damages and then selected a single figure to compensate the plaintiff. See Doxtator v. Burch (1971), 23 D.L.R. (3d) 52 (Ont. H.C.); Hill v. The Queen In Right Of Ontario Represented By The Minister Of Highways For Ontario et al. (1973), 33 D.L.R (3d) 530 (Ont C.A.); and Clarke v. Penny (1975), 10 Nfld. & P.E.I. R. 220 (Nfld. S.C.).

[12] See for example, Clarke v. Penny (1975), 10 Nfld. & P.E.I. R. 220 (Nfld. S.C.) in which a five-year-old girl who sustained severe brain damage was awarded only $180,000 for loss of earning capacity, future care costs, pain and suffering, and loss of enjoyment of life. See also Hill v. The Queen In Right Of

Ontario Represented By The Minister Of Highways For Ontario et al. (1973), 33 D.L.R. (3d) 530 (Ont. C.A.); and Prather et al. v. Hamel et al. (1976), 66 D.L.R. (3d) 109 (Alta. C.A.).

[13](1968), 1 D.L.R. (3d) 583 (B.C.S.C.). It is interesting to note that the defendant Ryan had consumed about eight glasses of beer in a tavern just prior to the accident, but no suit was brought against the owner.

[14]In 1978, the Supreme Court handed down four major damage decisions. Three of the cases dealt with very serious personal injury claims and the fourth dealt with recovery of damages pursuant to the fatal accidents legislation. The three personal injury cases have subsequently been referred to as the "damage trilogy", because they fundamentally changed the assessment of personal injury claims in Canada. See Arnold et al. v. Teno et al. (1978), 83 D.L.R. (3d) 609 (S.C.C.); Thorton et al. v. Board of School Trustees Of School District No. 57 (Prince George) et al. (1978), 83 D.L.R. (3d) 480 (S.C.C.); and Andrews et al. v. Grand & Toy Alberta Ltd. et al. (1978), 83 D.L.R. (3d) 452 (S.C.C.). The fatal accident case, Keizer v. Hanna (1978), 82 D.L.R. (3d) 444 (S.C.C.), also had a profound effect on the Canadian law of damages.

[15]This approach is best illustrated by Andrews et al. v. Grand & Toy Alberta Ltd. et al. (1978), 83 D.L.R. (3d) 452 (S.C.C.). In this case, Mr. Justice Dickson sets out a detailed framework for assessing serious personal injury claims. He also explains the need for such an approach, at p. 457:

> The method of assessing general damages in separate amounts, as has been done in this case, in my opinion, is a sound one. It is the only way in which any meaningful review of the award is possible on appeal and the only way of affording reasonable guidance in future cases. Equally important, it discloses to the litigants and their advisers the components of the overall award, assuring them thereby that each of the various heads of damage going to make up the claim has been given thoughtful consideration.

[16]Unlike the situation in the United States, million dollar personal injury cases were unheard of in Canada until the late 1970s. The damage trilogy represent three of the first million dollar claims. Since the trilogy, awards of close to or over a million dollars have become common in serious personal injury cases. Aside from Schmidt, see Dupuis v. Melanson (1978), 48 A.P.R. 312 (N.B.Q.B.); Fenn et al. v. City of Peterborough et al. (1979), 25 O.R. (2d) 399 (Ont. C.A.); MacDonald v. Alderson et al. (1982), 20 C.C.L.T. 64 (Man. C.A.); Wipfi v. Britten (1983), 43 B.C.L.R. 1 (B.C.S.C.); Bouliane v. Comm. Scoliare de Charlesbourg (1984), unreported (Que. S.C.); and R. Haliechuk, "Driver drunk, crash victims get $3.1 million in damages", Toronto Star, September 27, 1984, p. 1.

[17]Fleming, The Law of Torts, 6th ed. (1983), p. 264.

[18]Schmidt et al. v. Sharpe et al. (1983), 27 C.C.L.T. 1, pp. 9-12 (Ont. S.C.).

[19]For examples of the traditional analysis of voluntary assumption of risk see Village of Kelliher v. Smith, (1931) S.C.R. 672, p. 679; Harrison v. Toronto Motor Car Ltd., (1945) O.R. 1, p. 9 (Ont. C.A.); and Younger v. Younger, (1945) O.R. 467 (Ont. C.A.).

[20] See Car and General Insurance Corporation Ltd. v. Seymour, (1956) S.C.R. 322; Lehnert v. Stein, (1963) S.C.R. 38; and Eid v. Dumas, (1969) S.C.R. 668. See also D. Gordon, "Drunken Drivers and Willing Passengers" (1966), 82 L.Q.R. 62; and Crossan v. Gillis et al. (1979), 96 D.L.R. (3d) 611 (N.S.C.A.).

[21] (1983), 27 C.C.L.T. 1, pp. 16-21 (Ont. S.C.).

[22] As the following quotation from Crossan v. Gillis et al. (1979), 96 D.L.R. (3d) 611, (N.S.C.A.) illustrates, the Canadian courts have all but eliminated the defence of voluntary assumption of risk in routine drinking and driving cases. Chief Justice MacKeigan stated at p. 617: "for the volenti defence to succeed the Canadian law now requires proof that a bilateral bargain was actually made, expressly or by necessary implication from the facts, with the onus on the defendant to advance such proof."

[23] Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1968-69, S.C. 1968-69, C. 38, s. 16. This provision authorized the police to demand breath samples from a driver if they reasonably believed that the driver was committing, or had within the last two hours committed, the offence of driving while intoxicated. In 1975, Parliament greatly expanded enforcement powers in this field by authorizing the police to demand a breath sample for analysis at roadside from any driver whom the officer reasonably suspected had alcohol in his body. Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1975, S.C. 1974-75-76, C. 93, ss. 14, 102. This provision has not been proclaimed in force in British Columbia or Quebec.

[24] Criminal Code, R.S.C. 1970, C. 34, ss. 234.1(2), and 235(2).

[25] Schmidt v. Sharpe et al. (1983), 27 C.C.L.T. 1, pp. 14-15 (Ontario S.C.).

[26] In fact, three of the staff testified that they had not seen Sharpe or Schmidt that evening. The fourth employee recalls seeing Sharpe, but denied having served him any alcohol. Ibid., p. 12.

[27] Ibid, pp. 9-10.

[28] See note 7.

[29] This trend can be traced through a series of articles. See J. Ames, "Law and Morals" (1908), 22 Harv.L.Rev. 97; C. Wright, "Negligent Acts or Omissions" (1941), 19 Can. Bar Rev. 465; H. McNeice and J. Thornton, "Affirmative Duties in Tort" (1949), 58 Yale L.J. 1272; and J. Little, "Erosion of No-Duty Negligence Rules in England, The United States, and Common Law Commonwealth Nations" (1983), 20 Houston L. Rev. 959.

[30] Ibid.

[31] See for example, Basely v. Clarkson (1681), 83 E.R. 565 (C.P.); and Turner v. Thorne, (1960) O.W.N. 20 (Ont. H.C.).

[32] See for example, Gautret v. Egerton (1867), L.R. 2 C.P. 371; Vanvalkenburg v. Northern Navigation Co. (1913), 30 O.L.R. 142 (Ont. C.A.); and Osterlind v. Hill (1928), 160 N.E. 301 (Mass. S.C.).

[33] See note 7. One example of this trend is the law governing the duty to rescue. In keeping with the classic distinction between positive acts and failures to act, it is often stated that there is no general duty to rescue and render aid. However, the exceptions to this rule now include cases in which the defendant created the perilous situation, physically worsened the plaintiff's position, denied the plaintiff other opportunities for aid, or induced detrimental reliance. A duty to rescue will also be imposed if a special relationship existed between the defendant and the plaintiff. See J. Fleming, The Law Of Torts, 6th ed. (1983), pp. 138-139; and A. Linden, Canadian Tort Law, 3rd ed. (1982), pp. 304-305.

[34] This is perhaps best illustrated by the law governing the duty to fulfil gratuitous promises. At common law, an individual was not generally required to fulfil a gratuitous promise. Such conduct was considered a failure to act. The plaintiff's only remedy, if any, lay in contract not tort. Although this rule has been criticized, it has not been rejected--in large part because its impact can be avoided now in many cases. First, the court may skirt the issue by defining the defendant's conduct as a positive act, rather than as a failure to act. Secondly, the courts have recognized a large number of special situations and relationships in which they will impose liability for failure to honour a gratuitous undertaking. The end result is that the general rule applies, but it governs relatively few situations. See generally, W. Seavey, "Reliance upon Gratuitous Promises or Other Conduct" (1950-51), 64 Harv. L.R. 913; C. Gregory, "Gratuitous Undertakings and the Duty of Care" (1951-52), 1' De Paul L. R. 30; and J. Fleming, The Law of Torts, 6th ed. (1983), pp. 139-142.

[35] See Pollock v. Lipkowitz (1970), D.L.R. (3d) 766 (Man. Q.B.); Ingram v. Lowe (1975), 55 D.L.R. (3d) 292 (Alta C.A.); Michaud v. Dupuis (1977), 20 N.B.R. (2d) 305 (Q.B.); Floyd v. Bowers (1979), 106 D.L.R. (3d) 702 (Ont., C.A.); James v. River East School District (1976), 64 D.L.R. (2d) 338 (Man. C.A.); and Myers v. Peel County Board of Education (1981), 132 D.L.R. (3d) 1 (S.C.C.). See also Barnes, "Tort Liability of School Boards to Pupils", in Klar (ed.), Studies in Canadian Tort Law, (1977), p. 189; and J. Aaron, "Civil Liability for Teachers' Negligent Failure to Report Suspected Child Abuse" (1981), 28 Wayne L. Rev. 183.

[36] (1974), 54 D.L.R. (3d) 451 (B.C.S.C.).

[37] Arnold et al. v. Teno et al. (1978), 83 D.L.R. (3d) 609 (S.C.C.).

[38] (1976), 67 D.L.R. (3d) 9, p. 17 (Ont. C.A.).

[39] For examples of cases involving prisoners see Home Office v. Dorset Yacht Co., (1970) A.C. 1004 (H.L.); MacLean v. R., (1973) S.C.R. 2; and Toews v. MacKenzie (1980), 109 D.L.R. (3d) 473 (B.C.C.A.). For cases involving the mentally-ill see Thibodeau v. Cheff (1911), 24 O.L.R. 214 (Div. Ct.); University Hospital Board v. Lepine, Monckton v. Lepine, (1966) S.C.R. 561, and Lawson v. Wellesley Hosp. (1975), 61 D.L.R. (3d) 445; affirmed, (1978) 1 S.C.R. 893. See also "Psychotherapist's Liability for the Release of Mentally Ill Offenders: A Proposed Expansion of the Theory Of Strict Liability" (1977), 126 Univ. of Penn. L. Rev. 204.

[40] See Hewson v. Red Deer (1976), 63 D.L.R. (3d) 168 (Alta. S.C.). See also Theile v. Rod Service (Ottawa) Ltd. (1962), 45 D.L.R. (2d) 503 (Ont. C.A.);

O'Reilly v. Clinch (1979), 99 D.L.R. (3d) 45 (Man. C.A.); and "Police Liability for Negligent Failure to Prevent Crime" (1981), 94 Harv. L. Rev. 820.

[41](1979), 98 D.L.R. (3d) 59 (N.S.C.A.).

[42]See for example, Gardner v. McConnell, (1946) 1 D.L.R. 730 (Ont. H.C.); Lehnert v. Nelson, Carveth and L. & R. Limited, (1947) 4 D.L.R. 473 (B.C.S.C.); Jacobsen v. Kinsmen Club of Nanaimo (1976), 71 D.L.R. (3d) 227 (B.C.S.C.); and McKenna v. Gregs et al. (1981), 125 D.L.R. (3d) 268 (Ont. C.A.).

[43](1973), 38 D.L.R. (3d) 105 (S.C.C.).

[44]Ibid., p. 113.

[45]Ibid., pp. 110-112.

[46]Ibid., pp. 111-112.

[47]Ibid., pp. 105-106.

[48]Ibid., p. 113.

[49]See H. Silberberg, "The Intoxicated Patron: A Re-Appraisal of the Duty of Care" (1974), 20 McGill L.J. 491; D. Scott, "Negligence: Duty of Care:..." (1974), 6 Ottawa L. Rev. 622; and W. Binchy, "Tort-Negligence..." (1975), 53 Can. Bar Rev. 344.

[50]For example, Binchy referred to Mr. Justice Laskin's two-sentence dismissal of the defence of voluntary assumption of risk as "cavalier". Binchy also noted that Laskin, J.'s analysis is inconsistent with previous Supreme Court of Canada authority. See "Tort-Negligence..." (1975), 53 Can. Bar Rev. 344, pp. 356-359.

[51]For example, Scott states:

> If Mr. Justice Laskin meant that the operator or his employees must have specific prior knowledge that the patron, when drunk, is irresponsible, such a requirement would contradict the principles upon which Laskin relied in the first place in finding that a duty of care was owed to the intoxicated patron. Furthermore, as I have previously mentioned, I think it may reasonably be presumed that any person who is under the influence of liquor is likely to behave irresponsibly.

See "Negligence: Duty of Care..." (1974), 6 Ottawa L. Rev. 622, p. 632. See also H. Silberberg, "The Intoxicated Patron: A Re-Appraisal of the Duty of Care" (1974), 20 McGill L.J, 491, pp. 501-504.

[52](1983), 43 O.R. (2d) 145 (Ont. H.C.).

[53]Ibid., p. 150.

[54]Ibid., p. 153.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., p. 154.

[57] Ibid., pp. 155-159.

[58] Ibid., pp. 148-150.

[59] See The Liquor Control Act, S.M. 1956, as amended, C. 40, s. 300; Liquor Licence Act, R.S.O. 1980, C. 244, s. 53, and Liquor Ordinance, C. 26 (1st) 1983, s. 64 Northwest Territories Gazette, Vol. IV, No. 1.

[60] J. Mosher, "Légal Liabilities of Licensed Alcoholic Beverage Establishments: Recent Developments in the United States" (1984), paper presented at Public Drinking and Public Policy: A Symposium on Observational Studies. April 26-28, 1984. Banff, Alberta, pp. 8 and 11.

[61] See An Act Respecting Consolidated Revenue Fund, Law Stamps, Licences in general, Intoxicating Liquor, Marriage and Ferry Licences, Consolidated Statutes of Manitoba 1880, C. 8, s. LVIII; and An Act Respecting the Sale of Fermented or Spirituous Liquors, R.S.O. 1877, C. 181, ss. 88-91. This early Ontario legislation is extremely broad in scope, providing recovery in far more situations than its modern counterpart.

[62] The Liquor Licence Act, S.M. 1956, as amended, C. 40, s. 300.

[63] Liquor Licence Act, R.S.O. 1980, C. 244, s. 53.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Liquor Ordinance, C. 26, (1st) 1983, s. 64, Northwest Territories Gazette, Volume IV, No. 1.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Trice v. Robinson (1888), 16 O.R. 433 (Ont. Chan Div.)

[68] An Act Respecting the Sale of Fermented or Spirituous Liquors, R.S.O. 1887, C. 194, s. 122.

[69] Leverre v. Dame et al., (1949) O.W.N. 750 (H.C.).

[70] Cooper et al. v. Temos et al., (1955) 5 D.L.R. 548 (Ont. H.C.).

[71] Ibid., p. 550.

[72] Cooper et al. v. Temos et al. (1956), 3 D.L.R. (2d) 172 (Ont. C.A.).

[73] (1980), unreported (Ont. C.A.).

[74] Ibid., p. 4.

[75] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[76] Ibid., pp. 7-10.

[77] Ibid., p. 8.

[78] The Court of Appeal summarized the evidence in the following way:

> It is true that there is no evidence as to Porter's condition at the precise time that he was supplied with beer. There is, however, an abundance of evidence from which the jury could draw the necessary inferences. Porter was at the Legion club for at least five hours. There is scientific evidence based on an analysis of his urine that during that time he was at the Legion post he drank from nine to eleven and a half bottles of beer. A witness, Grainger, who was at the Legion post on two occasions on September 12th, testified that Porter weaved as he walked to the washroom and should have been refused service an hour to an hour and a half before he (Porter) left. Grainger declined to ride with Porter to the racetrack because Porter was in no shape to drive. Yvon Senecal who sold gasoline to Porter shortly after Porter left the Legion Club said that Porter was "under alcohol" and "was not walking straight". Senecal stated that he would have walked rather than accept a ride with Porter. Brenda Hartley who was a waitress at the Town and Country Restaurant described Porter as "loud", "slurring his words" and "drunk". There is other evidence, as well, which supports the foregoing and some that does not, but on the basis of the foregoing it was clearly open to the jury to conclude that Porter was supplied beer which would apparently intoxicate him or increase his intoxication while at the Legion post in Woodstock. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[79] (1983), 27 C.C.L.T. (Ont. S.C.).

[80] Ibid., p. 8.

[81] Ibid., p. 10.

[82] Ibid., p. 21.

[83] R. Kligman, "Innkeepers' Liability: Of the Alcohol Excesses of Patrons" (1983), 27 C.C.L.T. 49, p. 57.

[84] In the first case, the insurers of a Kitchener hotel reached a $200,000 settlement with a young woman who was paralyzed in a car accident caused by one of the hotel's intoxicated patrons. The second case involved the insurers of two Kitchener taverns who paid the plaintiffs over $500,000 for their injuries resulting from a collision caused by an intoxicated patron of the taverns. See E. McCarthy, "Rumoured half-million dollars for innkeepers' liability settlement", Ontario Lawyers Weekly, Nov. 4, 1983, p. 1.

[85] See generally notes 7, 29, 33-35, and 39-42.

[86] J. Mosher, "Legal Liabilities of Licensed Alcoholic Beverage Establishments: Recent Developments in the United States" (1984), paper presented at Public Drinking and Public Policy: A Symposium on Observational Studies. April 26-28, 1984. Banff, Alberta, pp. 23-30.

[87]See text, pp. 3-5 and the accompanying notes.

[88]See note 16.

[89]Bouliane v. Comm. Scolaire de Charlesbourg (1984), unreported (Que. S.C.).

[90]See R. Haliechuk, "Driver drunk, crash victims get $3.1 million in damages", Toronto Star, September 27, 1984, p. 1.

[91]Ontario, The Premier's Interministry Task Force on Drinking and Driving, "Drinking and Driving: A Discussion of Countermeasures and Consequences", Queen's Printer for Ontario (1983), p.4.

[92]R. Gilbert, "Is drinking and driving really a problem?", The Journal, February 1, 1982, p. 5. Although the statistics are a little dated, they are consistent with more recent data. See for example, The Premier's Interministry Task Force on Drinking and Driving, "Drinking and Driving: A Discussion of Countermeasures and Consequences", Queen's Printer for Ontario (1983), pp. 4-5.

[93]E. Single and N. Giesbrecht, Rates of Alcohol Consumption and Patterns of Drinking in Ontario, Toronto: Addiction Research Foundation, 1979.

[94]See note 4 for a discussion of the recent developments in the United States.

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